



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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25 June 1991

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Gabon

President Bongo on RSA Developments, Relations

AB2406151691 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 19 Jun 91

[Interview with President El Hadj Omar Bongo by John-Joseph Mbourou; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bongo] What do I want? I want peace in this country: peace in the government and at the National Assembly, regardless of the various leanings represented in the National Assembly and the government. I would like all of us to work together for the country but, alas, some opposition parties feel obliged to reject any call I make. If I make a call, it is because I want calm in this country but opposition party leaders have told me that they want a crisis cabinet or an extraordinary government which is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, which must be fully implemented. If the current strikes and demonstrations today aimed at preventing people from going to work continue, it will be up to the government to take stock of the situation and act accordingly.

[Mbourou] Mr. President, with the abolition of the People's Registration Act which listed South Africans from birth on the basis of their skin color, can we say that apartheid has practically disappeared in South Africa [RSA] today?

[Bongo] I believe we can say that apartheid has disappeared, but we must now judge things more realistically because we are referring to the registration of people. To be sure that apartheid has disappeared, we need to know if blacks and whites can kiss one another, if blacks can go to restaurants and places which were previously forbidden to them. Once this is confirmed, we can then say that apartheid has really disappeared.

[Mbourou] Mr. President, this said, are additional efforts not needed to achieve a complete clearing of the South African political landscape? I am talking about the release of all political detainees which has been somewhat delayed, and the conclusion of negotiations between the authorities and antiapartheid movements. In other words, how do you perceive current developments in South Africa?

[Bongo] I believe that once the essential issue has been taken care of, that is to say that apartheid has been abolished, the situation should then be clear in the sense that previously blacks did not have the right to vote and could not hold elective office, but today I believe that blacks should be able to vote; they should be represented in Parliament and in government. In any case, the South African Constitution should be amended by taking into account the one man, one vote system and make room for blacks. I believe this will be the most difficult task but one may also add that our black brothers should understand one another and form a bloc to negotiate with the South African authorities.

[Mbourou] Mr. President, with the abolition of the last pillars of apartheid, do you believe that economic sanctions against Pretoria are still justified today or should they be lifted?

[Bongo] I believe that we should refer to the resolution adopted by African heads of states at the Abuja summit. To be more accurate, I believe that we need to consider the two conditions or suggestions I made earlier, that is to say if blacks and whites in South Africa swim in the same swimming pool, visit one another, and if a black can move and live in the so-called residential districts which were forbidden to them. We also need to know whether, by the same token, the Constitution can be amended to enable blacks to be elected to the House of Assembly and occupy cabinet posts. If we have proof of all these, I believe there will be no need to apply sanctions.

[Mbourou] Concerning Gabon, how do you view future relations with South Africa?

[Bongo] When what I have just said becomes official and is known by all, there will be no reason for Gabon not to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa. We have received South Africans at various levels here, and I do not believe that it will be a shame for Gabon to have diplomatic relations with South Africa at least at the ambassadorial level.

[Mbourou] Omar Bongo in South Africa. Is it possible now that apartheid has been abolished?

[Bongo] If the South African president invites me, I shall go.

Opposition Parties End Boycott of Parliament

AB2406175691 Dakar PANA in French 1435 GMT
20 Jun 91

[Text] Libreville, 20 Jun (AGP)—Those Gabonese parliamentarians who are members of the Democratic Opposition Coordination (COD) resumed their participation in the National Assembly this evening after a boycott of over one month, it was observed on the spot.

The following opposition parties are represented at the National Assembly and are members of the COD: the Gabonese Progress Party (PGP), the National Lumberjacks Rally (RNB), the Gabonese Socialist Party (PSG), the Social Democratic Party (PSD), the Union for Democracy and Development (UDD), Morena [National Recovery Movement] (hardliners), and the Gabonese Socialist Movement (USG-new).

These parties had decided to implement an "empty chair" policy at the National Assembly on 2 May to demand the immediate and total implementation of the new constitution. They also demanded the appointment of a new prime minister, the elimination of obsolete institutions (the Great Chancellery of National Orders), the submission of constitutional laws to the National Assembly, the liberalization of the state media and opposition access to it.

In response to these concerns, the Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo, reaffirmed in a message to the nation on 7 June his readiness to totally implement the new constitution.

A new government is expected in the next few hours. The elimination of such institutions as the High Court, the Economic and Social Council, the Great Chancellery of National Orders, the high commissions; and the establishment of a Constitutional Court and a National Communications Council have already been accomplished. The implementation of all these demands by the leadership will certainly contribute to reducing the social tension that has been observed in the country since last year, it was predicted.

Rwanda

Habyarimana Signs Law on Political Parties

E42006154091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 18 Jun 91

[Excerpt] General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic, chaired the Cabinet meeting today at the 5 July Hotel from 0930 to 1730. During the meeting, President Habyarimana signed the law on political parties which was recently adopted by the deputies of the National Development Council [parliament] and declared to be in accordance with the Constitution by the constitutional court. The law on political parties will take effect very soon—that is, as soon as it is published in the official gazette. [passage omitted]

Djibouti

Aptidon Views Regional Problems, Relations

PM2506091691 London *AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT*
in Arabic 23 Jun 91 p 3

[Interview with President Hassan Gouled Aptidon by Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah in Djibouti; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] [Khalifah] Have you suffered economically as a result of the Gulf war, or did the saying "it is an ill wind..." apply?

[Gouled] We, like others, have definitely suffered economically. Work has stopped in most of the projects financed through Arab investment and aid. For example, during the war period work stopped on the Djibouti Refinery project financed by the Saudi private sector, and I believe that it will take several months more before work on it can resume. This is in addition to other projects, loans, grants, contacts, and negotiations which have been obstructed as a result of the Gulf war. Djibouti was been harmed a great deal by the war.

[Khalifah] What is Djibouti's position on events in the Horn of Africa, and how do you view the causes of what has happened?

[Gouled] The causes are known, and perhaps it is undesirable to talk about them in detail or directly at this stage. The wounds there are still bleeding and those who are fighting one another are brothers. They are all victims of those who abandoned power and those who have assumed power. I believe that the best that the old ones can do when matters reach such a regrettable state is to make room for the new ones. The best that the new ones can do when they seize power is to look at the future and refrain from looking back, because that will not be beneficial.

We are now making efforts with our Somali brothers to resolve their differences and to enable them to concentrate on their country and people in order to salvage what can be salvaged. I also believe that the first steps have highlighted several things, including all the Somali parties' desire and eagerness to settle matters and to restore the national structure in all aspects.

Regarding Ethiopia, we are awaiting the new authorities' completion of the formation of a government there, because there is scope for our cooperation in many fields, especially because our countries received many troops and equipment. We also kept some funds in our country and then handed them over to an Ethiopian leader during the battle to transfer power. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] An Ethiopian delegation is visiting you now, and it is the first one at this level since Mengistu's departure and his government's collapse. Did you facilitate that delegation's visit to resolve refugee and military equipment problems in your country, or are you eager to open up channels for contacts with the new Ethiopian regime?

[Gouled] Matters between our Ethiopian brothers and us embrace both these aspects, of course. Their delegation arrived, and we have welcomed it. We are discussing with it everything that bolsters relations between our two countries and peoples. As you know, Djibouti's policy is one of careful neutrality regarding other people's problems or the processes of change in their countries. [passage omitted]

Ethiopia

Former Dergue Military Officers Surrender

EA2406132291 Addis Ababa *Voice of Ethiopia*
Network in Amharic 0400 GMT 19 Jun 91

[Text] Former Dergue military officers surrendered peacefully to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] army during the week in Ilubabor administrative region. Some of the 120 officers who surrendered to the EPRDF's army are:

Brigadier General Abdullah Muhammad, commander of the 614th Corps;
Brigadier General Webe Belete, commander of the 22d Army Division;
Colonel Mikael Kidanu, campaign officer of the 614th Corps;
Colonel Teshoma Tapisa, administration officer of the 614th Corps;
Colonel Kassa Mekonen, Asosa province police commander;
Lieutenant Colonel Desalegne Ambaw, commander of the 148th Brigade;
Major Keder Husayn, Kefa administrative region officer;
Major Kasahun Ashiena, head of the Ilubabor administration military commission;
Major Gezahagn Tefera, officer in the 614th corps;
Major Yedefer Abdi, Buna province police commander;
Major [indistinct] Bekele, finance officer of the 614th Brigade.

Other officers have also surrendered peacefully.

Kenya

Government: No Border Disputes With Uganda

EA2406133291 Nairobi *KNA* in English 1615 GMT
19 Jun 91

[Text] Nairobi, 19 Jun (KNA)—The government today reaffirmed its earlier statement through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation that Waiasi Island in Lake Victoria was not part of Kenyan territory.

In a statement issued to the KENYA NEWS AGENCY the government said that Kenya had no territorial claims or border disputes with Uganda or any other neighbouring country.

The statement said that it was a historical fact that the said island was outside Kenyan jurisdiction and added that there was therefore no question of a territorial claim with anybody. It said Kenya respected all the existing international boundaries as laid down in the Organisation of African Unity charter.

Somalia

USC Interim Chairman, Others Resign in Mogadishu

E42206222591 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1700 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] Mr. Hussein Ali Shidow, the interim chairman of the United Somali Congress [USC], General Mohamed Farah Aydid, and Mr. Hussein Haji Bos, the head of the Mustahil [in south-east Ethiopia] and the Mogadishu uprising respectively [Bos is also chairman of the USC Executive Committee] have officially resigned today at the reconciliation meeting for the USC's communities in progress at the Guled Hotel in Mogadishu.

The meeting, which is preparing for the third congress of the USC, is dealing with minor disagreements among the USC communities [Hawiye clans] and the solidification of the organization's political, economic and defense strategy. The meeting also dwelt on the political system that will govern the USC's destiny.

The meeting, which entered its fourth day today, was presented with the proposal that all the USC communities nominate 62 people for selection using the criteria of good education, experience, and a sense of responsibility. All the meeting participants should ensure that these people have satisfied the aforementioned criteria, and they should coordinate the third congress of the USC that will soon be held in Mogadishu.

The meeting appealed to the communities not to nominate the representatives hastily [words indistinct] because they will be the ones who provide the strong strategic foundation of the organization. This requires highly experienced people, said the chairman of the meeting. The meeting concluded at 1500 and will resume on 23 June at 0900, God willing, to continue discussions still pending on the agenda.

Omar Ghalib Appeals for International Aid

PM2406105091 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 21 Jun 91 pp 1, 4

[Shafiq al-Asadi report: "Ghalib Tells AL-HAYAH: Mogadishu Will Hold Negotiations With North"]

[Text] Abu-Dhabi—Omar Arteh Ghalib, head of the Somali interim government, has announced that his government will hold negotiations in Mogadishu late this month with the Somali National Movement, which

announced secession in the North, in order to arrive at a solution acceptable to all parties.

In a statement to AL-HAYAH he emphasized that the interim government "is willing to respond to the wishes of the brothers in the north and throughout Somalia." He also said: "We sympathize with the Somali people in the north, but we call on them to respond by closing ranks for the sake of the Somali people's unity and self-determination in a brotherly dialogue."

He pointed out that the Somalis could benefit from the known constitutions of world states, such as those of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Emirates [UAE], Nigeria, Yugoslavia, Tanzania, and Switzerland. "Thus we can pass through this crucial stage which Somalia is experiencing."

He called on the Somali people in the north and south of the country to "adhere to logic and reason, to beware of the tendentious campaigns, and to control their emotions for the sake of Somalia's unity."

The Somali prime minister said that the situation in Somalia was calm and there were no unrest or battles in Mogadishu.

But he added that there were some problems and that "the government is making efforts to resolve them in a brotherly way, within the framework of one family, and in accordance with the Somali people's traditions and customs." He also pointed to "encouraging signs of the achievement of major improvements with a view to guaranteeing security and stability in the capital and the other provinces."

Ghalib denied the rumors about the return of the toppled president, Mohamed Siad Barre, describing them as "false news" and emphasizing that "that oppressor cannot return to Somalia after the massacres that he committed among the Somali people."

He appealed to all international and regional organizations to provide urgent economic aid to his country to enable it to overcome its economic problems. He also said that the Islamic Conference Organization has appealed to world states to help the Somali people extricate themselves from their predicament. This is in addition to the UN and OAU appeals for aid and assistance to Somalia, "which is facing difficult conditions and famine at present."

Ghalib, who is visiting the UAE, pointed out that he conveyed to UAE President Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan a message from Somali President Ali Mahdi and a joint message from a number of African leaders regarding the OAU decision issued recently in the Nigerian capital, Abuja.

He added that his talks with UAE officials dealt with bilateral relations and developments in the situation in the Horn of Africa, and especially in Somalia.

Parliament Amends Internal Security Law

*MB2106120191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1011 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Parliament June 21 SAPA—The Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill, which drastically reduces the maximum period of detention without trial, was passed by Parliament on Friday with the support of all parties except the Conservative Party [CP].

In a declaration of vote, Mr. Chris de Jager (CP Bethal) said the CP supported many aspects of the bill and acknowledged the need for security legislation.

The CP opposed the bill because it scrapped clause 55 of the principal act which prohibited the furthering of the aims of communism.

It was still necessary to prevent the spread of communism in South Africa by means of legislation.

Mr Dave Dalling (DP [Democratic Party] Sandton) said the bill put South Africa back on the road to a government according to the rule of law.

“Habeas corpus has now at last returned to our law.”

The bill had imperfections as a form of detention still remained on the statute books but as far as possible statutory protections had been built in.

Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP [Labor Party] Durban suburbs) said the National Party owed the families of those who had died in detention some expression of regret.

“We call upon them to do the honourable thing in this regard.

“The LP believes in the right to life, liberty and security of person. No one should be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.”

He said Section 29 of the principal act should be scrapped altogether.

Mr Ray Radue (NP [National Party] King William's Town) said communism was an outmoded and bankrupt doctrine which would be defeated in a fair and free election.

Mr Peter Mopp (Independent, Border) requested that his objection to the bill be noted by the chair.

Justice Minister Discusses Political Prisoners

*MB2406071691 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1830 GMT 23 Jun 91*

[Interview with Kobie Coetsee, minister of justice and correctional services, by John Bishop, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) presenter, in the SABC's Johannesburg studio on the “Agenda” program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] Serious differences have arisen between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] over the definition of political prisoners. All should have been released by 30 April. The ANC says hundreds are still in jail. Well, the government rejects that claim.

Meanwhile, American sanctions are still in place because of differences between President Bush and members of Congress over this very issue. So let's try to shed some light. With me is Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Welcome, Mr. Minister.

[Coetsee] Thank you.

[Bishop] Just before we went on we were talking about this story in the SUNDAY STAR: Government likely to make bold moves soon to diffuse the dispute over release of political prisoners and return of exiles, but we'll leave that one for the moment. Are you going to make a bold move soon?

[Coetsee] Well, if that report refers to the fact that the ANC will be meeting with myself and departmental officials....

[Bishop] Yes.

[Coetsee] Yes, that could be then construed as a bold move, although I must again say this is but a continuation of the process on which we've embarked and it really means that the ANC will now take care of their own interests instead of allowing the Human Rights Commission [HRC] to look after their interests.

[Bishop] Don't you like the Human Rights Commission? You sort of dismiss them.

[Coetsee] Well, it's not that I do not like them but the Human Rights Commission have produced a list which has not been very helpful. We have drawn them into an audit committee and we've sat down to verify their list and although it has confirmed what we have on record it wasn't otherwise of much help because what they really do is to insist that everyone on that list should be released. That goes far beyond what we have arranged with the ANC themselves.

[Bishop] Yes, I'm a little bit worried about the idea that the ANC and the HRC can be separated on this issue because my phone calls to both organizations over the last couple of days seem to show that they are one on it. They're both saying that there are 972 prisoners, that they don't accept the American definition of a political prisoner, and both organizations are saying this and that they want those prisoners out.

[Coetsee] Well, that's what they may want, but what is important is what has been agreed upon. The matter of fact is that at the Pretoria Minute we sat down and we made arrangements to have a plan devised for the release of prisoners. We embarked on what we call the [word indistinct] principles which provides for individual cases

to be dealt with case by case, but in addition we also provided in the plan for categories to be identified.

We pursued this course for some time. We announced several categories—one for people leaving the country without valid traveling documents, one for people receiving training no longer under arms—and finally on 24 April we virtually announced complete amnesty for all people except for people who have committed offenses such as murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

[Bishop] But Mr. Minister, hadn't you really been hoist by your own Pretoria Minute? Let me just read it to you. You will know it, I'm sure: In certain circumstances a common crime, even a serious one such as murder, may be regarded as a political offense. Now, since that Pretoria Minute was agreed upon between you and the ANC you have released murderers, you've released bombers and even a necklace murderer. So what it seems at least to the HRC and the ANC...

[Coetsee, interrupting] Yes. You haven't read far enough.

[Bishop] Go on.

[Coetsee] It's obvious because it says...

[Bishop, interrupting] I've got the whole thing here...

[Coetsee, interrupting] It says that under serious circumstances at least even a serious case may qualify to be called a political prisoner, but then it goes on to say that other factors should be taken into consideration, for instance, whether there was a political motivation or a personal motivation. In other words, you have to consult the record...

[Bishop, interrupting] Right, but what...

[Coetsee, interrupting] Was there a personal [changes thought] for instance, did the person want to settle a grievance.

[Bishop] Yes.

[Coetsee] Furthermore, also what was the nature of the target that the people had in mind. Was it state buildings, official buildings, official personnel, or private citizens?

[Bishop] But you see, what I'm saying is, really, that won't do, because although you're stating that now, that's how you're reading the Pretoria Minute, the facts are that until fairly recently you let out convicted bombers. We had Marianne Sparg on one of our programs. These people have already been let out. Now...

[Coetsee, interrupting] I don't think she left a body behind. And that confirms what I'm saying to you.

[Bishop] One of the black prisoners was involved in a necklace murder. Was that not so?

[Coetsee] Well, that was the one that was released on account of some ill health.

[Bishop] Yes. So what I'm really saying is, it seems to the ANC at least, and the Human Rights Commission, HRC, that you have moved the goalposts. For some reason or other, since the Americans made this declaration—and it goes...

[Coetsee, interrupting] No, we haven't. We've released 1,041 people up to now. We've released virtually all those—not virtually, we have released all those that clearly fall within the guidelines, parameters, devised by us. What now really remains are those cases that are in dispute. And we say that, at the end of this exercise, the rule of law must prevail. In other words, criminal justice should be taken into account. You cannot release people where they have counterparts for similar offences incarcerated.

[Bishop] But what about the argument that really, the American definition—look, it goes: Our definition of a political prisoner is someone who was arrested for his or her political views, but it excludes those who committed acts of violence for political reasons. Now, apparently, government quite likes that definition, but there's a counter-argument: that apartheid makes a whole different ball game; that apartheid...

[Coetsee, interrupting] But you're shifting the goal posts now. Apartheid has never been a definition here for political prisoners. When was it ever decided...

[Bishop, interrupting] What I'm saying is, that these political offences—whatever they might be—were committed during an era of apartheid, and the argument goes that apartheid is a form of social and political genocide. So you cannot apply American criteria to South Africa.

[Coetsee] Well, you're supporting the new argument...

[Bishop, interrupting] No, I'm not supporting any argument. I'm putting it to you, Mr. Minister, as one of the arguments raised by the ANC. What I'm saying is, I'm putting to you arguments given to me by the ANC.

[Coetsee] I'm not saying you're biased, John. Accepted. That would be shifting the goalposts, because it was never agreed upon. What was agreed upon was those cases clearly falling within the definition of what we call statutes, inhibiting political progress and political activity. Those people were all released. Then we said, even in serious cases such as murder, people may qualify, subject to certain qualifications. Because you can't release every murderer, every person who has committed rape.

[Bishop] But I don't think the ANC is asking for a blanket release. What they're saying is, if you can positively—between yourselves—agree on a political impulse, or conviction, then they should be freed. And what they're saying is, forget the administrative 1, 2, 3 bureaucratic checking; why don't you go for the signature of a [word indistinct]. Start afresh, in fact?

[Coetsee] Well, I don't think it's possible. What is possible is to see whether they agree with the decision taken according to what we have previously devised. In other words, they have, together with us, devised the system, the mechanisms; they don't like the product. But we also have, inherent in the system, the possibility of arguing about the product. If you don't agree, you go to the advisory body.

[Bishop] But don't they want to do that? They quite enjoyed the audit committee, but you suspended that audit committee. You had four meetings, apparently everybody was getting on well, the correctional services, Lawyers for Human Rights, the HRC, and now it's been suspended.

[Coetsee] It's with the cooperation of the ANC that it is suspended, and I'm sure that we'll really make progress now.

[Bishop] What about the special scrutiny committee that was mentioned?

[Coetsee] Well, that's part of it. That's part of the progress we've made.

[Bishop] I know you're going to meet the ANC, and it's difficult to get a minister before you know, the event, but are you...

[Coetsee, interrupting] But there's no secret about it.

[Bishop] But this 972 prisoners: Would you go for that kind of figure, do you think?

[Coetsee] No. I'll tell you why. Let me tell you. Because 572 have already been released, that's why we wouldn't go for that. Let me tell you something else: 28 of them—19, actually, nine have been shifted to another section—19 of them are on death row.

[Bishop] On death row? And you'd release them?

[Coetsee] Are we going to release them? No, because we're talking about serious crimes.

[Bishop] And the bomber? Alright, you said the bomber didn't kill anybody, but what about the murderer you've released? Wouldn't that make a difference now? You've set a precedent, you see.

[Coetsee] No. The point is this, that was a case where doctors certified that this man was on the point of irreversibility.

[Bishop] What does that mean?

[Coetsee] Well, he was about to die.

[Bishop] I see. Now the 130-odd detainees in Bophuthatswana, the homelands: It's said that the South African Government has full responsibility for them. They are truly political prisoners. What are you going to do about them?

[Coetsee] Well, John, do you agree with that?

[Bishop] I'm asking you a question. I have no agreement. You know, what I'm saying...

[Coetsee] Do you agree with that?

[Bishop] Oh, do I agree with what they said? No, it's irrelevant. What I'm saying is, I'm putting the thesis to you for you to answer it, you see. We're completely impartial on Sunday Agenda. I'd like you to know that.

[Coetsee] Very well, John. The point is that we cannot possibly accept responsibility for the 133, and yet the HRC have incorporated this figure in their 972. It is bordering on the ludicrous...

[Bishop] Well, they delineated, they set it out, and say where these people are. I mean, they don't make a secret of it, they're not trying to hide anything.

[Coetsee] Well, I think actually that was a joint discovery. As a matter of fact, the 133 was part of 343 untraceables. It seems to us 133 can be found in neighboring states. So this points towards an argument, shifting the goalposts. It was never argued at Groote Schuur, never argued at Pretoria, that we'll take care of the homeland, so-called homeland, or rather, the neighboring states', prisoners.

[Bishop] Right, we have two seconds, Mr. Minister. But it's not over yet. You're not adamant that no more people will be released?

[Coetsee] I'm positive. Now that the ANC have reentered the arena, I'm positive that we'll make progress now.

[Bishop] Thank you very much. That's all the time we have. Thanks for coming along.

Government, ANC on Political Prisoners Issue

MB2406082691 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] There's hope that the government and the ANC [African National Congress] will soon resolve their disagreement over the issue of political prisoners. The ANC says it's optimistic the issue will be resolved this week, but it says it will only give the government another month to unravel the red tape that's been slowing up the releases.

The government is also understood to be anxious to clear up the issue soon. It wants to satisfy U.S. demands and so encourage the lifting of U.S. sanctions. If the issue is resolved before the ANC conference next month, it would also help out the leaders who are pushing to speed up negotiations.

The ANC says there's still about 1,000 prisoners who qualify to be freed under the Pretoria agreement. These figures include prisoners held in the homelands. The government doesn't include homeland prisoners.

Mandela Addresses Thokoza Rally 23 Jun

MB2396140291 Johannesburg *SAPA* in English
1321 GMT 23 Jun 91

[By Clyde Russell]

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 *SAPA*—The ANC [African National Congress] was still holding the "moral and strategic high ground" in South Africa's political process, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Sunday.

Speaking at a rally of about 2,000 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza, Mr Mandela played down reports of divisions in the ANC. "Whatever problems the ANC has, it maintains the strategic high ground in South Africa—and we have no intention of surrendering it," he said.

The media came in for strong criticism by Mr Mandela, who said certain segments of the press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by infighting. He warned, in an apparent reference to the Afrikaans media, that the influence of certain segments of the media was declining. "There is a striking difference in this country between the Afrikaans press and the English press. One's influence will decline, while the other's will rise."

Mr Mandela said that the ANC wanted "an independent and vigorous" media, adding that there were some journalists committed to finding the truth.

Turning to the ANC conference to be held in Durban next month, Mr Mandela said some positions in the ANC's executive were likely to be "hotly contested". However, he said this did not mean that the organisation was divided.

Outlining why he thought the ANC had the advantage over the government, Mr Mandela pointed to the success of the ANC's campaign to isolate South Africa. He said this had been so successful that the government was battling to change its negative image. They were failing "because of one simple thing—not giving blacks the vote".

On the subject of sanctions the ANC deputy president said the government had been trying to misinform people. He said he had received support for sanctions from the governments of Europe. "It's going to take some time before sanctions are lifted," he told the cheering crowd.

Other reasons the ANC held the high crowd [as received], according to Mr Mandela, were the "victory" of ANC leaders who left jail on their own terms, the release of political prisoners and the forcing of the government to the negotiating table. He said the government had been "forced to swallow all their propaganda and their pride" in accepting negotiations with the ANC.

Another victory the ANC anticipated was the total banning of cultural weapons at political functions. Mr Mandela accused the government of "providing weapons to a certain organisation in order to give them the capacity to murder". He said the arming of the government's "black allies" was a ploy to undermine the liberation movements.

Mr Mandela, on a more conciliatory note, said more must be done to allay white, Indian and coloured fears. "Some of the things we have done have been serious mistakes," he said, pointing to the all African executive elected by the ANC Womens' League at their recent conference in Kimberley.

He said the ANC's commitment to non-racialism must not be seen as "propaganda", but rather as a genuine concern of the ANC.

He also said South Africans must learn the major languages of the country. "If I speak to an Afrikaner in English, I will not reach his heart even if I may reach his head," he added.

THE STAR Views New ANC 'Factions'

MB2006104091 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English
20 Jun 91 p 24

[Article by Shaun Johnson: "Understanding the ANC Split"]

[Text] There is a widespread perception among political observers that the outcome of the ANC's [African National Congress] July congress will provide final answers as to which "faction" of the organisation is in the ascendancy.

There is, however, very little agreement or clarity about how to define these "factions", how to quantify them, and how to find out who exactly belongs to which of them.

For the moment, vague delineations are drawn without too much reflection. The most popular—and it does not flow exclusively from conservative quarters—is that there is a deadly struggle for power between communists and non-communists within the organisation.

In this construction, there will either be a formal split between the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party], or there will not—which of these two outcomes emerges will determine who has "won".

There are variations on this basic thesis, and they are then translated into sloganised shorthand, depending on the political persuasion of the analyst.

Thus: There are "hawks" (bad) and "doves" (good), "progressives" (good) and "collaborationists" (bad), "militants" (good or bad) and "moderates" (good or bad), "reformists" (bad or good) and "revolutionaries" (bad or good). And so on.

The shorthand is, as has been demonstrated repeatedly during the confusing onrush of events since February 2 1990, highly problematic and even dangerously misleading. Individual leaders are moved by observers from camp to camp, like chess pieces, depending on their latest statements.

It becomes even more opaque when a leader who is a vociferous opponent of the South African Communist Party is proved in every other respect to be a "hardliner". Or when one of the most prominent of the perceived "hawks" is suddenly revealed to be one of the key players in keeping an ANC/Government working group on the rails. Or when the overall leader of the liberation movements' alliance is seen to "swop sides" from week to week.

It is a simple fact—and an obvious one at that—that there are powerful and different tendencies within the ANC, that these are complicated by the cross-fertilisation with a separate party (the SACP), and that allegiances are fluid. Of course there are power struggles, but they need not be as mechanistic as is suggested, and they need not result in a clear situation of victory or defeat.

The best way to monitor the growth or decline of particular political perspectives within the organisation—and thus to pronounce with some reliability on the outcome of this ANC congress—is to isolate the strategic kernel which tends to set the leaders apart.

The primary point of reference is the prevailing attitude toward the current negotiation process writ large, and toward the De Klerk administration in particular. There are two basic positions between which ANC members can choose.

Firstly, there is the belief that although the Government will be a tough opponent—and there will be persistent skirmishing—it is sincere in its commitment to a process which could result in the accession to power of the ANC.

In other words, there is a fundamental convergence of views on the validity of the process, and it must therefore be entered into without delay. This, more or less, is the predominant attitude within the national executive committee.

Against this, there is the conviction that the Government is not sincere, but is perpetrating a sophisticated ruse by drawing the ANC into a process which it cannot control, and from which it will not be able to escape.

The sceptics argue that Mr. de Klerk is thereby cleverly setting up as the enemies of democracy not his own Government (or, for that matter, the Inkatha Freedom Party)—because both are committed to the process—but rather the far right wing.

The logical outcome, according to this argument, is that the ANC is tempted to shift its focus, to avoid weakening De Klerk too much, and thereby to temper its militancy—not least in the matter of "mass action."

It is argued from this position that a "rethink" of sanctions, for example, will similarly ease pressure unacceptably on Mr. de Klerk. Rather, it is suggested, it should be recognised that Mr. de Klerk is engaged in a life-or-death struggle to force through a process which will, in the end, protect white privilege and result in something short of majority rule.

Rather than engaging on his terms, the ANC should recognise his real intentions, and should not underestimate its own strength—mobilised mass support. Full use of the latter, it is argued, can force the Government to transform the negotiating process from a sham one to a real one.

This political litmus test is not as clear-cut or analytically handy as the simple "communist/anti-communist" formula. But it has the advantage of making explicable developments which would otherwise seem baffling, and is a useful benchmark to keep in mind when assessing the tone and content of July's conference.

It is perfectly possible—even probable—that as the negotiations process unfolds, individual leaders will find their views of that process changing, their allegiances might shift back and forth (irrespective of whether they are communists), and the outcome will be an ANC with a more "militant" or more "moderate" face.

Certainly, more SACP members are likely to be found in the sceptical camp, but this will not be an absolute rule.

Similarly, this understanding of the ANC's internal dynamics shows that it is wrong to conclude that the "hardliners" are "anti-negotiations"—they are rather opposed to negotiating under these specific rules.

The "revolutionaries" believe the ANC is being far too trusting and giving too much away—but they are likely to fight their corner within the ANC camp rather than leading a walkout.

And this, in turn, will make it more unlikely that their opponents within the ANC will be able to force them to leave, even if they want to do so.

Those who are awaiting a formal split between the SACP and the ANC would be advised not to start holding their breath just yet.

ANC Military Wing To Launch 'Domestic Army'

MB2306152891 Johannesburg *SUNDAY TIMES*
in English 23 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by Edyth Bulbring: "MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation—African National Congress, ANC, military wing) To Launch a 'Domestic Army'"]

[Text] The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will launch itself as the ANC's domestic army at a national conference next month.

The launch will follow the ANC's national conference in Durban early in July, a senior MK official said this week.

Plans to hold the launch in Transkei were vetoed because the ANC wanted to counter the idea that it was a predominantly Xhosa movement.

The official said that, although MK expected opposition to the launch from the government, the move was not designed to be provocative.

"The launch is necessary if the SADF [South African Defense Force] and MK are to be integrated into one army," he said.

It was the only way MK could challenge the SADF and ensure that a new integrated army was led by MK commanders, the official said.

"What better men to lead a new army to protect SA [South Africa] than MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani or MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise, who have fought apartheid?"

The official said that, in terms of the Pretoria Minute, cadres could not go on the offensive and could not train in camps inside the country.

However, the ANC had the right to defend itself and train its soldiers in the theory of war, he said.

ANC Spokesman on Guests at National Conference

MB2306134691 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 23 Jun 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Mdu Lembede and Prakash Naidoo: "Yasir 'Arafat Invited to ANC Talks"]

[Text] Heads of state from many African countries and leaders of political movements, including the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasir 'Arafat, are expected to attend the ANC [African National Congress] conference in Durban next week.

Senior ANC officials in Johannesburg and Durban said the controversial PLO leader had been invited and had accepted the invitation.

Among the countries that have confirmed they will be sending delegations are Cuba, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Egypt and Tanzania.

Prominent African political leaders who are expected to attend are former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Namibian Minister of Mines and Energy Andimba Toivo ja Toivo.

This week President Kaunda confirmed that a delegation from his United National Independence Party had been invited and coyly added that he looked forward to playing golf with President F.W. de Klerk.

Observers expect that many dignitaries attending the conference will also use their visits to make contact with the government of Mr de Klerk.

The procedural tussle between the ANC and Pretoria over visiting officials from foreign governments could be potentially embarrassing for both camps.

A compromise strategy for both parties was hinted at by ANC spokesman Sakhumzi Macozoma who said the invitations had gone to the heads of political organisations worldwide and not to heads of states.

"We could not invite them as heads of states because we are not yet a government.

"Those heads of states who are coming are doing so in their capacity as leaders of political parties," he said.

The ANC have budgeted R [rand] 2 million for the accommodation and meals of 2,000 delegates and 350 foreign delegates. A foreign media contingent of no less than 300 have also confirmed their attendance.

A spokesman for Namibia's Sam Nujoma said the president was already committed to attending a SWAPO [South-West African Peoples Organization] central committee meeting at the same time of the conference, but the possibility of him attending has not been entirely ruled out.

The Organization of African Unity will be represented by the secretary-general, Salim Salim and the Rev Jesse Jackson will lead a US civil rights delegation.

The Egyptian Ambassador to Namibia, Husayn al-Sadr, confirmed yesterday that he will be representing President Husni Mubarak at the conference and several Arab ambassadors have also indicated that they will be attending.

Two senior PLO officials in Southern Africa have already said they are part of the organisation's delegation.

Speaking from the PLO headoffice in Tunis, the press officer, Mohamed Acmet Mahmood [as published], confirmed that the organisation will be represented at the conference by a three-man delegation, which will include their most senior diplomat in Harare, Ali Haimeh, and the ambassador to Namibia, Hassam el Madi.

Mr Mahmood denied that Mr 'Arafat would head the delegation, but ANC sources in Durban said Mr 'Arafat had been invited and had accepted.

The Cuban embassy in Namibia confirmed that a four-person delegation will be in Durban for the conference and is expected to be led by the foreign minister, Isidoro Malmierca and will include senior member of the Cuban government Central Committee, Rondolfo Puenteferro and the Namibian Ambassador [as published], Angel Fernandez.

Several Western governments will be represented by their ambassadors and consuls in South Africa and preparations are being made to accommodate the more than 350 foreign dignitaries, industrialists and trade unionists in Durban.

ANC spokesman Sakhumuzi Macozoma, said the list of invited guests is about complete and will be made public this week on visa arrangements have been finalised

'Strict Monetary Policy' Beginning To Work

*MB2306103791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1002 GMT 23 Jun 91*

[Text] Cape Town June 23 SAPA—It appears the government's strict monetary policy is beginning to work, says SANLAM's [South African National Life Assurance Company] chief economist. In his latest economic survey, Mr Johan Louw says indications are that South African [SA] consumers have been living more within their means since the end of last year. The rate at which personal debt increases has declined sharply.

He says special measures are however still needed to correct structural problems, specifically to establish a healthier relationship between spending and saving.

This problem is worsened by the current process of income redistribution, as it is placing upward pressure on consumption and, at the same time, adversely affecting personal saving.

Mr Louw considers it appropriate that the government is maintaining positive real interest rates and continuing efforts to reduce inflation to a more acceptable level.

He says the downturn in the SA economy has now lasted almost 28 months and is not expected to bottom out before late this year or early next year.

This would make the current downswing about twice as long as the average since World War II.

Preliminary figures for the first quarter this year indicate the real gross domestic product has declined for the sixth quarter in succession. This means South Africa has been in a recession since the last quarter of 1989.

The non-agricultural sectors of the economy have however not experienced a true recession, says Mr Louw. Real economic growth rates in these sectors, he says, have not been negative for two consecutive quarters. According to Mr Louw, the current downturn is—on the face of it—reasonably moderate.

This is related to the relatively small decline in real spending on goods and services. However, as the recession has lasted so long it is beginning to have serious consequences for many people and companies.

Concerning inflation, Mr Louw says it would appear that the rate will remain high in the months to come, and could even accelerate. A year-on-year increase in the consumer price index of just under 15 per cent is

expected for the end of the year. More or less the same rate is foreseen for the full year. For 1992, the inflation rate is expected to come down slowly, to about 12 per cent by the end of the year, Mr Louw concludes.

New Boer Commando Chief Says Battle 'Imminent'

*MB2206183491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1816 GMT 22 Jun 91*

[Text] Hendrina June 22 SAPA—Newly elected Boer Commando leader, Chief Commandant Gavie Volschenk, said on Saturday Boers should link hands because battle was imminent.

Mr Volschenk was addressing 200 people at Hendrina immediately after he had been chosen as the leader of the Boer Commando. Two other nominees, Cmdt Marnus van der Wall and Cmdt Herman Scheepers, said they were not available for election.

At most there were three dozen khaki-clad Commando members at the meeting, but Mr Volschenk said these were only the officers corps. He said the four-month old Boer Commando was affiliated to no political party, but belonged to the volk [people].

The Boer Commando may link up with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] if the latter "got its house into order," he said. Many Boer Commando members were former or current AWB members.

Mr Volschenk would not supply a membership figure, but said the Boer Commando's strongest presence was in the eastern Transvaal, while its membership extended to the [Orange] Free State, Natal, and western Transvaal.

Present at the meeting were Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party, HNP] leader Jaap Marais, Boere Vryheidsbeweging [Boer Liberation Movement] leader Jan Groenewald, Kays Smit of the HNP, Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] Party leader Robert van Tonder, rightwing figure Manie Maritz, Andre Vermaak of the Blanke Mynwerkersunie [White Mineworkers Union], and Boereweerstandsbeweging [Boer Resistance Movement] intelligence chief Andrew Ford.

Mr Volschenk, of Hendrina, said the Boer Commando should prepare itself to take back the country once chaos erupted. "The Boer Commando is a new factor and is well-organised." Mr Jaap Marais said the Commando's task was to "enter into battle and to do what history expects of it".

'Simmering Divisions' in Conservative Party Noted

*MB2406111991 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
24 Jun 91 p 1*

[Report by Peter Fabricius, political correspondent:
"Koos's Dismissal May Signal CP Split"]

[Text] The "new Right" thinking in the Conservative Party [CP] will not be killed by the party's dismissal of its information chief, "verligte" [enlightened] MP [Member of Parliament] Koos van der Merwe.

Political observers believe simmering divisions in the CP between the Verwoerdian old guard and Mr van der Merwe's new Right will come to a head next year.

The party executive acted decisively against Mr van der Merwe on Friday [21 June], effectively dismissing him from his crucial position as chief party spokesman by disbanding the information committee he headed.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's position in the controversy is unclear, but it is being suggested that he launched the move against Mr van der Merwe to preempt a move by hardliners to expel him from the party.

The move appears to have been deliberately timed to coincide with the end of this year's session of Parliament—to prevent the National Party exploiting it in debate.

It is clear that some sort of action against Mr van der Merwe has been brewing since the leaking to the press a few months ago of the so-called "Koos documents".

He warned in this confidential strategy paper written for the party leadership that President de Klerk's reforms were unstoppable and that the CP's only option was to enter negotiations to plead for a much-reduced white homeland.

Mr van der Merwe said last night he would "continue with my next document—my Masters on the criteria for successful partition".

Resistance Movement Calls for United Front

MB2406092491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] is determined to form a united right-wing front. Chief information officer Piet Rudolf says it's time for a new offensive against communism, the ANC [African National Congress], and the National Party. John Matham reports:

[Matham] Rudolf says the government has capitulated and the hour of truth for South Africa has come. He says with the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, it's clear to the AWB that a whites only election will never be held again. The executive council of the AWB is therefore approaching all right-wing groupings to form a united front. Unity amongst the more than 60 splinter extremist groups has been a problem in the past, but Rudolf believes the enormity of the threat will bring people together.

The HNP [Reformed National Party] has already indicated its willingness to enter into unity talks, and on

Saturday [22 June] newly elected Boer Commando leader Grawie Volschenk says all Boers should link hands because battle is imminent.

PAC Urges UN Not To Attend ANC Conference

MB2406150491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] has called on the UN's Special Committee on Apartheid [SCA] not to send a delegation to the ANC [African National Congress] conference in Durban next month. In a statement issued by PAC Secretary General Benny Alexander, he says the SCA decision to attend the ANC conference was opposed by both the PAC and Zimbabwe delegations. Alexander says the SCA's decision is contrary to UN General Assembly resolutions.

French-ANC Weapons Initiative Detailed

MB2306155491 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 23 Jun 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mike Robertson: "ANC (African National Congress) in Secret French Talks"]

[Text] French weapons manufacturers have opened secret talks with the ANC in an attempt to corner the armaments market in a post-apartheid South Africa.

A confidential ANC report on the talks, which has come into the possession of the SUNDAY TIMES, discloses that the French military industrialists have tried to steal a march on their competitors by offering a training-and-weapons deal.

The French have also shown a strong interest in the future of Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] and have hinted at using South Africa as an entry point for arms sales to the rest of the continent.

The French arms makers are considering ANC proposals to provide training for selected people in French military academies as well as technical and engineering training in French military and related industries.

The ANC's delegation was led by Tokyo Sexwale, head of the organisation's department of special projects.

In the document, Mr Sexwale says that French industrialists "showed a keen interest in our future development and management of Armscor, as an effective competitor in the arms market, particularly regarding potential clients in the African market".

On his visit to France, Mr Sexwale was accompanied by Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa and three others.

In the document, Mr Sexwale says the visit arose from low-key confidential contacts initiated by some French military industrialists "who have an interest in developing relations with a post-apartheid democratic South Africa in the field of armaments and related industries".

The industrialists, the report says, requested Dr Alan Guenon, a consultant with the French military industrial concern, Sagem [expansion unknown], to arrange a meeting with the ANC.

An initial informal meeting was arranged and was attended, according to the document, by Mr Philippe Cadoret, a Sagem Executive, Colonel Henry de Wauberp, chief test pilot of the French Air Force, Maurice Argouse, a former French Air Force test pilot, Mr Guenon, Mr Sexwale, Pappie Moloto of the ANC human resources department and Gibson Thula, a consultant for Vela International.

Mr Sexwale said the French, at that meeting, wanted to explore the possibilities of re-establishing military contact with the new South Africa. "They pointed out that an ANC government is sure to inherit many weapons of French origin, especially the South African Air Force which is basically equipped with French aeroplanes."

The ANC, Mr Sexwale said, had stated that it appreciated the French desire to explore co-operation with the new South Africa.

It was suggested to the French, he said, that they consider providing advanced military and arms-production training to selected South Africans recommended by the ANC.

Mr Sexwale said in the report that he had briefed ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani about the meeting.

Within a week, the report says, Dr Guenon invited the ANC to visit France.

Among leading French industrialists and military personnel the ANC delegation met in its week-long visit in April were: Mr Pierre Faure, chairman of Sagem; Vice-Admiral Francois Deramond, chief of the Naval Fleet Air Arm; Mr Bernard Gautier, deputy director of Argenteuil R&D [Research and Development] (a French military plant); and Mr Roger Fouroux, the French Minister of Industries.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC delegation "stressed the issue of having our people trained in the many sectors of French military and related industries with a view to empowering disadvantaged and oppressed South Africans".

At the end of the visit, he said, "we left France with very good impressions and having reached agreement that we,

the ANC, should commence with compiling a list of names and CVs [Curricula Vitae] of the persons whom we wish to have trained in the various fields mentioned.

"Dr Alan Guenon was to report to us on the definite responses of the people and agencies with whom we met and to whom suggestions were made. His report is expected shortly."

Mr Sexwale noted that the visit "did not draw applause from the South African Government".

He said the South African ambassador to France, Mr Mark Burger, had informed Sagem that the government was "disturbed and upset" at the reception the delegation was given.

Mr Sexwale concluded that it would be foolhardy for the ANC not to explore opportunities such as the one initiated by French industry.

Agreement To Develop Soviet Diamond Area Signed

*MB2406174091 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1600 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] A South African mining company, De Beers Centenary, has signed an agreement to develop the diamond rich Yakutia region in the Russian Republic. An independent news agency, Interfax, reported that in terms of the agreement, experts from Yakutia would be trained at De Beers' London head office.

Last year the Soviet Union granted De Beers Centenary sole marketing rights of its diamonds for five years. However this led to a confrontation with the Russian Republic which demanded control over its natural resources. It is believed that the deal is worth about 14 billion rands.

*** Sweden Easing Entry Visa Requirements**

*91P40314.4 Helsinki HELSINGEN SANOMAT
in Finnish 14 Jun 91 p C 1*

[Text] On Thursday [13 Jun], Sweden eased visa requirements for South Africans. Starting 1 July, travelers will be able to get visas for entering that country. Athletes will be permitted to compete in Sweden if they belong to an internationally recognized sports organization. However, South African businessmen are still not welcome. A total lifting of the visa ban would have been in conflict with the sanctions policy. In March, the Nordic countries' foreign ministers decided to ease restrictions regarding visas for South Africans.

Angola

UN Approves Verification Mission Forces

MB2106152891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] The UN Security Council yesterday approved the membership of Unavem 2 [UN Angola Verification Mission]. Guinea-Bissau and Brazil are the only Lusophone countries in the mission. The other countries include: Algeria, Argentina, Congo, CSFR, Panama, Egypt, Hungary, India, Uganda, Jordan, Malaysia, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, SFRY, and Zimbabwe. Some of those countries had already been represented in the Unavem 1 forces. The UN Security Council also approved the composition of the Unavem 2 forces.

Future Commercial Operations on Railroads Viewed

MB2206195791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] The Benguela Railroad [CFB] will begin commercial operations on the Lobito-Cubal stretch on 15 August, and on the Lobito-Cuito stretch in November. CFB Regional Manager Dr. Guilherme Prata said the renovation of the line will cost \$16 million, part of which will be used to buy 24 rail cars for the Lobito-Benguela stretch. Renovation works began in May and are scheduled to last three months. In view of the commitment of railroad workers, and Huambo and Bie provincial governments, the works could be (?completed) before that date.

Madagascar

Opposition Member Discusses Objectives

EA1906220291 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar
Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 19 Jun 91

[Excerpts] Demonstrations by the opposition platform's Gallant Forces [words indistinct]. This evening, they began holding a meeting [words indistinct] to examine what should be done tomorrow, while also awaiting news from the various provinces. Two opposition platform male members, Mr. [words indistinct] this evening is going to explain the objectives [words indistinct]:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified opposition member] An objective that has already been attained regarding the effort to implement the resolutions taken during the August and December national consultation is the effort to implement changes in a lawful and peaceful manner, without a single Malagasy being injured. Those are the efforts we are now making, which explains why we went to the National People's Assembly and why we went to the Higher Constitutional Court. In brief, what has been achieved so far is the following: responsibility for a peaceful and amicable solution—because the question is left to the people we met—is now on the shoulders of those people whom we visited.

[Unidentified interviewer] You talk about peaceful demonstrations. What do you mean by peaceful?

[Opposition member] By peaceful, we mean that nobody is forced or subjected to force, and that there are no clashes at all with security forces—that is to say, to avoid the slightest thing that might lead to clashes with the security forces. There will be no attempt at all to force people against their will.

[Interviewer] It appears, however, that there are some uncontrolled elements.

[Opposition member] Give me an example of such uncontrolled elements and I will give you an explanation.

[Interviewer] Those who today took possession of a bus, for example.

[Opposition member] If you listened carefully, those who today took possession of a bus were also insulting the Gallant Forces. They are not Gallant Forces [words indistinct] at all.

[Interviewer] What measures do you take when some people intend to sabotage the struggle in this manner?

[Opposition member] I again repeat: Those people do not come from our ranks. They themselves have been showing this clearly since last night. We explained this to the security forces. I cannot explain their behavior, but what I can say is only that they themselves—you have listened to them—consulted and swore at the Gallant Forces. I hope I have given a clear explanation. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] The letter has now been received by the various state institutions that you visited. What will the next steps be? Are you going to wait for their replies?

[Opposition member] Yes, we are obliged to wait for an answer from the Higher Constitutional Court, the HCC. Why? All possibilities must be utilized—that is to say, we will not spare the slightest way or means to avoid violence between Malagasy. We are trying to act in the most lawful manner. This is what we are now doing. The HCC has the competence to say: The president of the Republic can no longer lead the country. We will also see how to deal with such an answer, or with another answer. We will decide what to do when the answer comes.

[Interviewer] What is the situation in the provinces?

[Opposition member] Demonstrations are continuing in the provinces.

[Interviewer] There was an appeal for dialogue launched today by political parties of various formations. What is your opinion of this?

[Opposition member] Which political party? We were in the streets, so we did not hear about this.

[Interviewer] The People's Movement for National Unity [Vonjy—opposition during presidential elections, now pro-government].

[Opposition member] I am really surprised, as what Marojava Razanabahiny [Vonjy leader and secretary general of the pro-government National Front for the Defense of Malagasy Socialism, MMSM] talked about and signed very recently concerned Somalia and Ethiopia. [sentence as heard] So he has changed his mind. It is he who should get in touch with us. Was it on behalf of the Vonjy party or on behalf of the MMSM that he launched the appeal?

[Interviewer] On behalf of the Vonjy party.

[Opposition member] I do not know, but among Vonjy members themselves, there are different opinions. [Words indistinct] Vonjy members themselves. We want proof that his appeal is trustworthy and credible. [Words indistinct]

[Interviewer] What are you doing now as you wait for this answer?

[Opposition member] We are preparing tomorrow's program and examining the situation in relation to the information we receive and to the objectives that we plan to meet on this initiative; otherwise [words indistinct] would have been happy to inform you about our program for tomorrow. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Mozambique

Chissano Views 16th Anniversary, Peace Process

MB2406200791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1830 GMT 24 Jun 91

[“Address to the Nation” by President Joaquim Chissano on the eve of the 16th National Independence anniversary; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Mozambican women, Mozambican men: In a few hours, the Republic of Mozambique will mark yet another year as a free, sovereign, and independent state. In a few hours time, we shall celebrate 16 years of freedom. We shall celebrate 16 years of the exercise of power and the establishment and consolidation of democracy. We shall mark 16 years during which the Mozambican people, from the Rovuma River to Maputo River, have exercised the right of being owners of their own destiny.

On 25 June 1975, the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, on behalf of the entire Mozambican people, solemnly proclaimed the total and full independence of Mozambique. By establishing an independent fatherland, which is now called the Republic of Mozambique, our people shattered centuries of foreign occupation and domination, exploitation, and humiliation.

The Mozambican people, organized and led by Frelimo, had to resort to the armed struggle. They had to confront the colonialist war machinery and laws, because the Portuguese colonial regime refused to peacefully grant self-determination to the Mozambican people. On 25 June 1975, we marked the end of our people's multifaceted resistance against foreign domination. We marked the end of colonialism in Mozambique. We marked the victory of the struggle of national liberation.

Following the proclamation of national independence, the Mozambican people finally saw the door open to freedom, the building of a society of social justice where all men, women, and children are equal without any kind of discrimination.

Compatriots, we celebrate the 16th anniversary of national independence with renewed hope and resolve in the search for ways leading to the restoration of peace in our country, a peace based on sovereignty and territorial integrity, and on respect for the state and its agencies and laws, as well as on the upholding of the dignity of Mozambicans.

Within the framework of our government's patient efforts, we have already held six rounds of talks with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in Rome since July last year. So far, we have been able to sign an agreement on the Beira and Limpopo corridors and the beginning of the discussion of political issues contained in the working agenda agreed upon by the two sides. We expect to resume discussions soon. Government is ready and committed to see to it that the negotiating process will be accelerated and experience positive results at the next round of talks. We once again reiterate our government's desire and total commitment to search for understanding by overcoming all obstacles that may emerge ahead of us.

We express our gratitude for the mediation undertaken by the Italian Government, the Saint Egidio Order, and Beira Archbishop Don Jaime Goncalves. Likewise, we would like to thank all those who have been contributing toward facilitating the negotiating process.

Conscious that peace and stability will only last if they are based on a platform that will guarantee the fundamental rights of the citizens, we made significant steps toward deepening and consolidating democracy in our country. Accordingly, the approval of the new constitution and the law on parties break the necessary ground for dialogue and exchange of ideas within the framework of tolerance and national reconciliation. Violence is, therefore, no longer justifiable.

The preparations for a coup d'état recently discovered by our defense and security forces are contrary to the efforts made by our government and Mozambican society as a whole in search of peace, deepening of democracy, and viable solutions to the socioeconomic problems faced by our country. We repeat: In our country violence is no longer justified. We appeal to all those who attack our

people day and night and destroy our economy to calmly and honestly engage in dialogue so that we may rapidly reach an understanding.

Compatriots, as we struggle for peace and for the consolidation of democracy in the country, we mark the 16th anniversary of the Mozambican fatherland while making efforts to renovate our economy. With the backing of financial partners and the international community, the renovation of the economy and society has continued to gain momentum through the economic recovery and emergency programs.

While Mozambican society will face new challenges when peace is achieved, we are now drafting a national reconstruction program. In doing so we have taken into account the repatriation and resettlement of citizens living abroad or who have been displaced at home; the personnel to be demobilized from the Army; the Renamo elements; and the restoration of socioeconomic infrastructure destroyed by war. This means that even in peacetime we will continue to have to make tremendous efforts to normalize our lives and to establish our well-being. Every Mozambican is hereby called upon to give his best to ensure the success of this task.

We must not ignore the warnings made by the international community regarding the difficult situation that our continent faces and will continue to face in the coming years. Drought and instability will aggravate famine throughout our continent. Mozambique will not be the only country to be affected. It has been estimated that the lives of more than 28 million Africans are in danger. The only way we can minimize our suffering and avoid its aggravation is if we coordinate our efforts.

Of late, we have witnessed an increase in crime and disorder in the country's cities. The government is concerned about finding efficient ways and means to curb and put an end to the outbreak of crime by establishing tranquility and security which have always been the hallmarks of our cities.

Mozambican women and men, we count on the valuable contribution made by the international community to our efforts in searching for peace, in consolidating democracy, in restoring the economy and society, and in the emergency programs. We would like to express our profound recognition of and our appreciation of those who support us in these trying times. We assure you that we will continue to work with those who support us so that their aid and solidarity may reach the needy and improve the living conditions of all citizens. We hope that together we will improve the means which will permit us to reach that goal in the best possible manner.

At the international level, we shall continue to fight for the observance of norms that govern relations between states as enshrined in the UN and OAU charters. In this context, we join the other members of the international community in the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts and disputes and in the struggle for a new international economic

order, prosperity and the well-being of all peoples, and for peace, freedom, democracy, and progress.

In the southern African region, we are witnessing a new era of peace and harmony. The Angolan peace accords signed in Lisbon on 31 May mark the end of many years of suffering, deprivation, and grief caused by a devastating war. The signing of these accords clearly show how far we can go when there is determination, perseverance, honesty, and seriousness in dialogue.

The reports reaching us from South Africa on the abolition of discriminatory laws, which were the pillars of the apartheid system, have renewed our hopes for a promising future for that country and our region as a whole.

As we mark the 16th anniversary of national independence, we are witnessing significant efforts at the level of the African continent in the search for solutions to our economic problems. By signing the treaty that establishes the African Economic Community, we expressed our full commitment to the common effort by African states to resolve the economic and social problems of our continent through a greater economic interaction, complementarity, and integration. As a matter of fact, to end the crisis that we are currently experiencing, we must make maximum use of our national resources—both human and material resources—as well as consolidate our integration on the regional level, as an important step toward realizing the establishment of an African Economic Community.

On this occasion, as we mark the 16th anniversary of national independence, we would like to salute the Mozambique Armed Forces and our other defense and security forces. We would like to salute our officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers who, in different corners of our country, are selflessly and heroically defending our country's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. We would like to express our solidarity with all the Mozambicans who lost their relatives and their possessions all over the country because of the war we are still experiencing. We would like to salute all workers, peasants, intellectuals, and artists, as well as all those who, with their skills, intelligence and expertise, have been carrying out the major task of creating wealth and the material, social, cultural, and spiritual well-being of the Mozambican people. We would like to salute the Mozambican women, the youth, and the followers of the revolution who have firmly and courageously carried out the tasks of the present phase of our development in all corners of our country.

We would like to salute the international community for the generous contribution which has been fundamental to saving the lives of thousands of Mozambicans. We would equally like to salute foreign technicians and workers who work hand in hand with us in different tasks of national reconstruction and our country's development.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men: All of us ardently desire peace. We want a genuine, dignified, and

just peace. We want national unity, tranquillity, and progress. We all want the increasing exercise of democratic rights of the citizens in the political, economic, social, and cultural life in the Mozambican fatherland. We are convinced that our country will eventually experience peace and will use its resources for rehabilitating and developing the national life and economy.

Long live 25 June! Long live national independence! Long live the Mozambican people! The struggle for peace continues!

Ex-Army Chief of Staff Said Coup Attempt Leader

MB2406153791 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1500 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Reports from Maputo say that the leader of the group of officers which was planning to overthrow the Mozambican Government is a former chief of staff of the Mozambican Army, General Sebastiao Marcos Mabote. Gen. Mabote was chief of staff during the term of office of President Samora Machel who was killed in an air crash in 1986.

Many of the coup plotters are reported to be retired Army officers who had some support among the present officer corps. The officer corps is said to be alarmed by the government's plans to demobilize the Armed Forces once the war with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is over. Many officers are also concerned about losing certain privileges after the introduction of multiparty politics. Some of the officers, who were allegedly involved in the coup, had been accused in the past of running drugs and arms smuggling networks.

Machungo on Cooperation With U.S., Portugal

MB2206184291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] The Mozambican prime minister has proposed in Lisbon the creation of a joint agency involving the five Lusophone African countries, Portugal and the United States. The agency would be responsible for the coordination of cooperation projects. Mario Machungo's proposals were advanced at the conference on bilateral cooperation between the five Lusophone countries, and Portugal and the United States.

The Mozambican prime minister added that until such an agency is created, the Portuguese-U.S. Foundation, which is sponsoring the conference, would lay down the foundations for trilateral cooperation. Machungo said that entrepreneurs of the five Lusophone African countries will be the irreplaceable partners of foreign investors, thus there is a need to enlighten them on how to deal efficiently with productive business.

Returns From U.S.-Lusophone Talks

MB2406094291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Mozambican Prime Minister Mario da Graca Machungo returned to Maputo today after attending a conference in the Portuguese capital on cooperation among lusophone African countries, Portugal, and the United States. Prime Minister Mario Machungo told Radio Mozambique that discussions at the conference centered on the possibility of trilateral cooperation among the United States, Portugal, and the lusophone African countries with a view to future economic and social development. Prime Minister Mario da Graca Machungo met and discussed bilateral cooperation with Cavaco Silva, his Portuguese counterpart, during his stay in that European country.

Namibia

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed With Cuba

MB2206081191 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] An economic cooperation agreement expected to bring Cuban construction and agricultural experts to Namibia, was signed by Information and Broadcasting Minister Hidipo Hamutenya and Cuban Ambassador to Namibia Angel Dalmau in Windhoek yesterday. The agreement follows negotiations between Minister Hamutenya and the Cuban Government in Havana in February this year.

The team of experts is expected to arrive in Namibia before the end of the month, and will be based in Windhoek, Keetmanshoop, Ondangwa, Rundu and Katima Mulilo. Hamutenya said the specialists would cooperate with local experts in providing training to (?development) [word indistinct]. He said this was necessary to ensure the [word indistinct] fulfill (?their promise) of their purpose of job creation and job training.

Swaziland

U.S. Interference in Internal Affairs Charged

MB2306105091 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY in English 23 Jun 91 p 2

[Report by Hanson Ngwenya: "U.S., U.K. Are Interfering in Swazi Affairs,—Mamba"]

[Text] The Hhohho Regional Administrator, Mr Abbey Mamba has warned the United States of America and Britain to stay out of Swaziland politics.

Mr Mamba who was addressing a meeting at Nkhaba, said he was surprised when representatives of the two countries "interfered" in the Kingdom's internal affairs by suggesting that the 60-day detention order should be done away with.

Mr Mamba said human rights and 60-days are two different issues altogether, which cannot be linked.

He said being detained under 60-days is not necessarily a violation of human rights.

The meeting, held this week, was attended by police top brass the Crime Prevention Unit and members of the Nkhaba community, including former Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi who is chief of the area.

"The interference by the two countries was undesirable," he said.

He explained that in placing people under 60 days, the authorities consider it a solution to disciplining people who offend the state.

He said the two countries claimed their interference on 60-days was in the interest of human rights. He said the issue of the former 60 days detainees was far beyond the abuse [of] human rights.

Mr Mamba who left the meeting after giving the address, said people who are placed under 60 days detention were offending the state and said Swazis had no right to do so.

Mr Mamba was apparently referring to the case of the detention of five men, Mphandlana Shongwe, Sabelo Dlamini, Ray Russon, Boy Magagula, and Dominic Mngomezulu.

The five last year appeared at the High Court, but were acquitted of high treason and sedition, and of allegedly plotting against the state in furthering the aims of an alleged underground movement, Pudemo [People's United Democratic Movement].

After spending a highly publicised term at the Matsapha Prison, which included spells of hunger strikes, the five were released.

Also released at the same time, was former Liqoqo strong man, Prince Mfanasibili.

He too was ordered detained after he was acquitted of charges of high treason at the High Court.

Shortly before they were ended, the detention were publicly criticised by the American Embassy.

Though Mr Mamba did not state how the British contributed in the interference, the British High Commissioner had invited the five to his offices shortly after they were released.

Mr Mamba also said he was surprised to learn later that the British government was one of the countries that also abuse human rights.

Zambia

Kaunda on Conditions for South African Ties

MB2406173191 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda says he will only normalize relations with Pretoria when the white minority government accepts a system of one person, one vote. He told members of his party's youth league over the weekend that he is not convinced the scrapping of the last legal pillar of apartheid means an end to white rule. The president says there are still traces of apartheid, despite the repeal last week of the Population Registration Act.

People Urged To Avoid 'Political Experiments'

MB2206203091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] President Kaunda has urged Zambians to avoid making nasty political experiments because they were dangerous and costly. Comrade Kaunda, who was addressing thousands of people in Sinazongwe at the official opening of Sinazongwe's boma [government], said Zambians should not allow themselves to be used by some political malcontents because the end results will be loss of life and property.

Comrade Kaunda said Zambians should learn from countries like Angola, Uganda, and many others that ventured into political experiments. The president said Zambians should build the nation on the basis of love to mankind, and not hatred.

And receiving solidarity messages at State House shortly after his arrival from Sinazongwe, President Kaunda said his decision to reverse the country to multipartyism was the right one because UNIP [United National Independence Party] was not afraid of other political parties.

Addressing a group of UNIP Youth League of Mpika this evening, Comrade Kaunda expressed concern at the behavior of some opposition parties who, he said, have continued to use their meetings to insult the government in power. Comrade Kaunda said he has of late received a lot of complaints from a cross section of the community, including chiefs, over the opposition's lack of respect for the ruling government.

Zimbabwe

ZUM's Tekere Fired by National Executive

MB2306104191 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1000 GMT 23 Jun 91

[Text] Zimbabwe's main opposition movement has fired their president, Edgar Tekere. The National Executive of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement [ZUM] says Tekere had acted unconstitutionally in suspending several members of the party. They also claim he has made damaging statements concerning the party.

Last week, Tekere rejected a new constitution and leadership structure for the party, even though it had been adopted by a majority of the ZUM.

Tekere was also fired from the Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] party for being too critical. Political analysts say the ousting of Tekere is likely to split the ZUM, and Tekere will be unable to accept his forced resignation.

*** Chidzero Says 'Socialism Not for Now'**

91AF1163A Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English
28 Apr 91 pp 1, 11

[Text] Zimbabwe's structural adjustment programme is the only way to save the country's economy and needs the support of everybody, including workers, to succeed, the Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr. Bernard Chidzero, told trade unions in Harare yesterday.

Cde. Chidzero said socialism could not work at the present stage in Zimbabwe.

Addressing over 100 trade union leaders and officials at a meeting convened by Cde. John Nkomo, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Cde. Chidzero said the new capitalist order was a reality and Zimbabweans should accept this.

"Socialism cannot work at this stage in this country," the minister told a capacity crowd at a local hotel.

He said in reply to questions later: "We have taken Marxism into account and decided to be pragmatic, so this dogma will solve itself in the process."

Present at the meeting, the first Government-to-union encounter over economic reforms, were Cde. Nkomo's deputy, Cde. Florence Chitauro, Labour Ministry officials, leaders of different affiliates of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and ZCTU secretary-general Cde. Morgan Tsvangirai.

Acknowledging hardships were already hitting consumers and workers in terms of price hikes, unemployment and a rise in inflation, Cde. Chidzero said there would be much suffering in the first two years of the programme. These problems would have to be faced "squarely."

After two years, he said, small projects the Government was concentrating on would create employment and prices would go down, when monopolies were broken through the production of the same produce by different companies.

So far high prices had been the result of shortages and monopolies.

"Where there are no competitors, we will have to open new ones," said Cde. Chidzero.

As the programme slides into gear, the Government has appointed a task force chaired by Vice-President

Muzenda to look into the operations and needs of parastatals, with a view to pruning them. Efficiency units had also been set up to look into whether there was overlapping in ministries' responsibilities.

However, some delegates, in discussion during the break, questioned the concept of a task force comprising the Government alone.

"It is known that every system has an in-built interest of self-perpetuation," said one.

Cde. Chidzero also spoke about the \$20 million earmarked for the social fund to alleviate the hardships hitting the poor, unemployed, disabled, women and children. He said donors had promised more money for the fund.

He said a team made up of officials from the Reserve Bank and the Finance and Labour ministries had been established to evaluate the programme to aid the victims of the reform programme.

He said it was "unfortunate" that the programme was launched in a year of drought and at the time of the Gulf war.

The world recession was affecting Zimbabwe's exports, which were fetching less than previously.

However, Zimbabwe was not on its knees when it began implementing the programme.

"We still have an economy that is functioning," said the finance minister.

Appealing to workers to accept and support the economic reform programme he has campaigned hard for locally and internationally, Cde. Chidzero said there was hope for workers in the programme in that eventually more employment should be realised and investment should grow.

"We have to put our heads together. We have to be united. If we are not, we shall be the losers and not the world," Cde. Chidzero said.

Replying to Cde. Tsvangirai's concern that devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar would demotivate investors, Cde. Chidzero said the Zimbabwe dollar had only been devalued once, in 1982.

"What has been happening is we have had depreciation," said the minister.

He added that the depreciation actually encouraged exports, kept low importation and generated interest in using local raw materials and import substitution.

"The investor actually is going to be encouraged," he said.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Cde. John Nkomo, yesterday threatened to suspend the registration of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions or deregister it completely,

alleging the ZCTU had violated its constitution and provisions of the Labour Relations Act.

Addressing a meeting attended by representatives of national trade unions, he said the ZCTU had implemented resolutions of its third congress to increase affiliation fees from five cents per registered member to 15 cents, without his ministry's approval, which was required by legislation and the ZCTU constitution.

"Government has no choice, in the wake of these violations, but to deregister the ZCTU until matters are cleared and they reapply using a new constitution," he said.

However, ZCTU secretary-general Cde. Morgan Tsvangirai, who also attended the meeting, countered by saying the ZCTU had gone through all the steps that were necessary and had never acted in a manner inconsistent with its constitution or the Labour Relations Act.

Minister Nkomo alleged there were trade unions affiliated to the ZCTU which had complained to him about anomalies in the administration of the organisation but he said he would not name them. Everybody was free to approach his ministry on labour-related issues as he was the relevant and responsible minister, he said.

* National Military Service Program Stalled

91AF1166C Harare FINANCIAL GAZETTE
WEEKENDER 28 Mar 91 p W1

[Article by Farai Makotsi]

[Text] Plans to begin military training as part of the much-publicised, and highly controversial, compulsory national service programme remain shelved with no starting date in sight, 17 months after the first recruits were registered at various district offices around the country.

The director of the Department of National Service, Brig. Agrippa Mutambara, said through his secretary last week that he would not accept any reporters' requests for interviews on the subject because there had been "no progress" on the issue.

The national service programme falls under the auspices of the Ministry of Political Affairs in which Brig. Mutambara is a deputy secretary. Registration for the programme, for all 18 to 30-year-old Zimbabweans, began in November 1989.

The ministry has since been allocated some additional, but unspecified, funds to run the programme.

When registration for the service began, the then Minister of State for Political Affairs, the late Mr. Ernest Kadungure, said that military training would start "very shortly and that it would be compulsory and you can't run away from it."

Six months later, in May last year, the Senior Minister for Political Affairs, Mr. Didymus Mutasa, said the programme was "very much alive" and that it would "soon" be put before Parliament for legislation.

"Once it is clear how it can be done, we will move fast to implement the service sometime this year, possibly sooner," Mr. Mutasa said. The same sentiments were expressed two months later, in July, by the senior secretary for Political Affairs, Dr. Stan Mudenge, during a seminar on the role of the ministry held in Masvingo.

To date, it seems the issue remains on the cold shelf and there is no indication that the proposals will be brought forward for debate in Parliament any time soon.

In the process, considerable sums are understood to have been spent registering recruits at the Ministry of Political Affairs district offices around the country. Extra people had to be hired to man the registration offices and large supplies of stationery were procured and used in the process.

At the same time, the government has announced its intention to cut down the number of civil servants, including reducing the size of the army, as part of a retrenchment effort that is necessary under the economic restructuring programme.

However, no one seems ready to explain how the government can simultaneously cut its public spending while funding what appears, obviously, to be an expensive undertaking such as the national service programme.

The programme entails six months of basic military training to be followed by another six months of non-military service where recruits are required to work on developmental projects throughout the country.

Finally, those who complete the first two phases will qualify for the call-up phase should the country face a military threat or a national disaster. Those on the qualifying list can opt to remain on it until they are 50 years old.

When the programme was first proposed, it met with stiff opposition from some parliamentarians and members of the public who questioned the wisdom of spending scant national resources on the service at a time when Zimbabwe has one of the largest standing defence forces in the region.

However, government and Zanu (PF) officials have consistently defended the idea saying that political instability in both South Africa and Mozambique was cause enough for constant military vigilance in Zimbabwe and, thus, the need to maintain a large reserve of trained people.

Moreover, the supporters of the scheme also argue that the programme will create ancillary benefits to the nation as a whole, such as the use of trained personnel to curb the country's high rate of crime. In addition, they say, the recruits will be trained into cadres of disciplined leaders whose other responsibilities will be to promote national unity.

In the private sector on the other hand, several business leaders and employers have complained that the programme will have the net effect of disrupting working schedules for employees.

Burkina Faso

Political Parties Roundtable Session Opens

AB2406182091 *Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0630 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] The second session of the roundtable with political parties began yesterday under the chairmanship of the minister of state in charge of coordinating government actions. The session provided for establishing a four-man ad hoc commission of the roundtable. Participants also adopted rules of order.

At this meeting the participants decided that it would be convenient to continue searching for the best conditions for implementing the Constitution. The participating parties and organizations empowered the commission to suggest to the head of state any initiative to enable all the legally recognized parties and organizations to participate effectively in this roundtable.

Compaore's Party Rejects Calls for Conference

AB2306220191 *Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 23 Jun 91*

[Text] Ouagadougou, June 23 (AFP)—The party of Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaore has rejected opposition calls for a national conference on the country's future and threatened to deal severely with those who oppose the regime and the country's new constitution. The Organization for Democracy-Labour Movement said Saturday that a conference on the country's future would be tantamount to a "civilian coup d'etat" against the revolution. The party's secretary general Nabaho Kanidoua said "the party will never accept the holding of a national conference." Mr. Kanidoua, also health, social action and family minister in the transitional government, said authorities would not tolerate any threats to the revolution and the new constitution adopted on June 2.

The party, one of five movements in the ruling Popular Front loyal to Captain Compaore, is composed mainly of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries who dominate the Front.

Captain Compaore has ruled this western African nation since 1987 when he came to power in a palace coup ousting Captain Thomas Sankara. Captain Sankara was killed in the coup.

Employment, Labour and Social Security Minister Salif Diallo, also a member of the party's central committee, said the opposition leaders calling for a national conference were concealing "vengeful and aggressive attacks against the revolution. If anyone in the opposition attacks the revolution and the constitution, we will strike back whatever the cost," Mr. Diallo said. Mr. Diallo called upon party members to "resort to old tactics to put an end to the attacks by reactionary enemies of the revolution."

Captain Compaore is a candidate in Burkina Faso's presidential elections set for November 3. In early May, accountant and nightclub owner Ram Ouedraogo announced he would run against Captain Compaore under a new party called The Union of Greens for the Development of Burkina.

Guinea

Lawyers, Minister Comment on Alpha Conde Case

AB2106145691 *Conakry Radiodiffusion-Television Guineenne Radio Network in French 1945 GMT 20 Jun 91*

[Excerpts] Regarding the case of the seizure of weapons and political documents at Conakry Airport, the release of persons arrested yesterday during the search conducted by security men at Mr. Alpha Conde's residence is under way. Nineteen women and one of Mr. Conde's defense counsels, Lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry, were released late last night. Mr. Fode Moussa Sylla, director of the Conakry detective force, has promised to release all citizens who were not charged today. According to Mr. Fode Moussa Sylla, however, Malik Conde, Alpha Conde's brother, is likely to remain in police custody. He is charged with harboring delinquents and possessing banned weapons. Molotov cocktails and locally made grenades, among others, are said to have been found at his residence.

Lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry's arrest took him by surprise. He had turned up with the approval of the attorney general to lead Mr. Alpha Conde to the Criminal Investigations Department [CID] for a hearing. Unfortunately for Lawyer Barry, Mr. Conde, according to the police, had been taking refuge since the evening of 18 June at the Senegalese Embassy. [passage omitted]

Lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry's arrest aroused the indignation of Guinean lawyers. Let us listen to the president of the Guinea Bar Association, Lawyer Kassori Bangoura:

[Begin Bangoura recording] Mr. Alpha Conde, against whom legal proceedings have been instituted, hired lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry, a member of the bar, to defend him. On 19 June on a suggestion by the attorney general and with the approval of the CID director, lawyer Barry went to his client's house. To his great surprise, he found members of the antigang brigade from the headquarters of the Conakry Urban Detective Force whose role in the arrest in December 1990 of lawyer [name indistinct], a member of the bar, is common knowledge.

Lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry showed them his professional card and requested to see the authority who was searching his client's residence. His request was categorically denied. He was arrested and driven to the Conakry

city detective force headquarters where he was locked up until 2315 along with 67 other people including 20 women.

Informed of this unacceptable development, the Guinea Bar Association held an emergency general meeting on 20 June at 1000 in the lawyers' chambers. The Guinea Bar Association solemnly denounces this attempt at intimidation. It vehemently protests this obstruction to the free exercise of the legal profession and denounces police misinformation. It affirms that lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry—and this is very important—was arrested while strictly exercising his legal profession and not for any political reason whatsoever. We wish to stress this point in passing. Consequently, the Guinea Bar Association has decided to boycott today's hearings of the Assizes Court in solidarity with our colleague, lawyer Alpha Bakari Barry.

[Signed] the Guinea Bar Association [end recording]

To sum up the case of the seizure of weapons and political documents at the Conakry Airport, let us listen to Major Facine Toure, minister of justice and keeper of the seals, who clarified Mr. Alpha Conde's legal status:

[Toure] First, I wonder why Alpha Conde has taken refuge at the Senegalese Embassy. As a Guinean citizen, he was summoned by the CID in connection with clearly specific acts. As a citizen, he could simply have honored the police summons and answered the questions that he would have been asked because in fact, the preliminary investigations into this affair—the docket we received from the CID—lacked sufficient information, so the court could not have acted on such information. It was with a view to obtaining additional information that the docket was returned to the CID. Conde was summoned, he refused to honor the summons, and he suddenly took refuge at the Senegalese Embassy.

We do not consider Alpha Conde as a person in political exile, but if he has taken refuge at the Senegalese Embassy, then we are waiting to see the Senegalese Government reaction. Considering that the Senegalese Embassy is considered as Senegalese territory and is inviolable, we believe that the Senegalese Government will, at the right time, examine the Alpha Conde issue and make the relevant decision. All said and done, we believe that Alpha Conde must honor the CID's summons in order to answer the (?necessary) questions. [end recording]

Negotiations Over Conde Begin

AB2106151491 Dakar PANA in English 1353 GMT
21 Jun 91

[Text] Dakar, 21 June (APS-SEN/PANA)—Senegal and Guinea (Conakry) are currently engaged in negotiations after the Senegalese Embassy in Conakry gave protection to a Guinean dissident, Alpha Conde. A Senegalese official told the SENEGALESE NEWS AGENCY (APS)

in Dakar that the two governments were examining the issue in the light of the existing excellent relations between the two countries.

Alpha Conde went to the residence of the Senegalese ambassador in Conakry Monday at 2100 GMT and requested to be protected for personal reasons. The official said the ambassador accepted the request in accordance with the Vienna Convention and immediately informed the Guinean Government.

Further on Conde Case

AB2206213091 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 21 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Guinea opposition leader Alpha Conde has had a rough ride since his return to Guinea last month. He has been under surveillance all the time, posters have been seized, there has been talk of arms caches, there were reports that he had been arrested. Supporters who protested at the police station were picked up and detained. Then Conde disappeared. Well, much of the information about his tribulations is coming out of Dakar in neighboring Senegal. On the line to Dakar, Mark Doyle asked Francois Xavier Harris of the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY [AFP] what had become of Alpha Conde:

[Begin recording] [Harris] Well, we have learned that on Monday [17 June] evening, Alpha Conde, at about 9 PM, went to the Senegalese Embassy in Conakry, which happened to be not very far from his house, and obviously asked for protection.

[Doyle] And what did he ask for? Political asylum or was he running away from the police, and what details do we have?

[Harris] Well we do not have many details, but there was a statement today by the SENEGALESE NEWS AGENCY [APS] saying that both governments were now thinking about it, both governments are aware of the fact that Alpha Conde has been seeking refuge at the Embassy, but they do not talk about political asylum; they do not talk about anything at the moment. It is only the fact that he is gone to the Embassy for protection and that both governments are working on a solution. We do not know more than that at the moment.

[Doyle] But the fact that Senegal is a multiparty democracy and has always liked to advertise the fact that it is a multiparty democracy—can we assume that the Senegalese Government will be fairly sympathetic towards Alpha Conde?

[Harris] Well you know that in the past Senegal has been a shelter for many former heads of state and it is the case now with Hissein Habre of Chad, for example. So there is this tradition in Senegal to give shelter to somebody. Now of course Alpha Conde is a Guinean citizen, he has no condemnation, he has no problems. So the case might be a bit different because I do not think it is a question

of finding an exile for him. In fact, he has come back for exile. He has been spending over 30 years in France and Ivory Coast. He just came back to Guinea about a month ago and the problem now is where is he going to stay?

[Doyle] How are relations between the Guinean Government and the Senegalese Government? I mean it is not likely to cause any major problems between them, is it?

[Harris] Well I should not think so at the moment. The two heads of state have very friendly relations. Both of them have been talking about regional integration. There are talks about the possibility of forming a kind of West African union, and therefore I think relations are excellent and the Alpha Conde problem should be no problem as such.

[Doyle] There has not been any word of any more demonstrations by the opposition people?

[Harris] Well at the moment we have no such information. The only thing we had was that yesterday the lawyers of Guinea have been demonstrating because one of them, in fact Alpha Conde's lawyer, had been detained for about six hours since he was within the same house, and he had been arrested with all those people. But since then, we have no such thing as demonstration or any protest. [end recording]

Mali

Former President's 'Associates' Arrested 24 Jun

AB2406142691 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 1300 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Oumar Diallo was arrested today and turned over to the commission of inquiry into the crimes and embezzlements of the Moussa Traore regime upon a decision by Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure, chairman of the Transitional Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP] and head of state. In another development, still based on a decision by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure, Commandant Anatole Sangare was arrested today in line with the investigations. Yacoubou Doumbia explains the latest developments.

[Doumbia] I will say right away, Souleymane Kantara Cissoko, that there is nothing surprising about Lt. Col. Oumar Diallo's arrest since he was, for several years, one of the closest associates of the former presidential couple. Lt. Col. Oumar Diallo, nicknamed Virus, served twice as the former president's aide-de-camp. He also occupied the post of director of state security. Lt. Col. Oumar Diallo, like top men in the former regime will have a lot to answer before the commission of inquiry on Moussa Traore's crimes and embezzlements.

Regarding Commandant Anatole Sangare's arrest, the action is purely one of military discipline to make it possible to establish the facts surrounding some hitherto

undisclosed information. Souleymane Kantara Cissoko and other Army officers have been arrested for security reasons.

Toure Returns From Morocco, Reports on Visit

AB2406191291 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 20 Jun 91

[Text] The chairman of the Transition Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP], Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure, arrived in Morocco this morning for a 24-hour working and friendly visit. He was welcomed on arrival by Moroccan Prime Minister Azeddine Laraki.

The head of state told the press that his visit is part of the efforts to strengthen bilateral cooperation and is aimed at explaining the March events. He also said that relations between Morocco and Mali are excellent.

[Bamako RTM Radio in French at 2000 GMT on 21 June reports the following: "Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure, the CTSP chairman and head of state, has just returned to Bamako." The station then follows with a recorded statement by Toure: "I am back home and satisfied. This working and friendly visit to Morocco was fruitful and productive. First, on the positive side, it enabled us to strengthen the close ties of cooperation we now want with Morocco. It also enabled us to discuss the causes of and new orientations following the events of March 1991 in Bamako.

"This visit was also positive in other aspects, notably in [word indistinct] which I told you about. Morocco has committed itself to revitalizing our handicrafts trade and making it more dynamic. It will build a handicrafts shop and see to it that handicrafts generate resources and help our youth find jobs. Second, Morocco has committed itself to rehabilitating our economy, namely our banks, and to reviving our [word indistinct]. Morocco has also committed itself to rehabilitating our cultural heritage, notably Timbuktu, by restoring some architectural sites and reviving the handicrafts trade and agricultural sector there. Morocco also committed itself to [word indistinct] notably through training in education, agriculture, and other fields. The concretization of all these things will soon be seen. His majesty the king told us that he would send a mission of technicians to Bamako immediately after the celebrations to determine our needs and priorities so that measures can be taken to help us concretely."

Nigeria

Second ECOMOG Contingent Returns From Monrovia

AB1906094491 Dakar PANA in English 1751 GMT
18 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, 18 June (NAN/PANA)—The second batch of 700 Nigerian soldiers with the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peace-keeping force in Liberia have

returned home after a seven-month tour of duty, the director of Army public relations, Colonel Fred Chijuka, has said. The returning battalion, which left Nigeria in September 1990, consists mainly of officers and men of the 72nd Airborne Brigade.

The battalion was to have been rotated in March after completing the regular six-month tour of duty but had to stay longer to allow a replacement battalion time to familiarize with the terrain. Units of the Airborne Brigade took part in most of the peace enforcement operations during which Monrovia, the Liberian capital, was completely liberated from rebels led by Charles Taylor.

Senegal

* French Assessment of Structural Adjustment

91AF1128A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
19-25 Apr 91 pp 4-5

[“Excerpts” from a report on Senegalese structural adjustment by the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation: “The Big Deception”; title and date of report not given; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Ten years of structural adjustment and complete economic failure. The adjustment did not even begin in Senegal, according to U.S. expert Elliot Berg in a report, which has been prepared for U.S. AID [Agency for International Development] and to which we will return. The report from which we are publishing large extracts today is the work of France's Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, our principal lender. The serious economic crisis and the failure of the NPI [New Industrial Policy] and the NPA [New Agricultural Policy] are acknowledged by everyone. The value of the document in question here is that it provides us with the main outlines of our economic collapse. But it also relates how the government succeeded for a long time in duping our lenders and delaying the adjustment until it found itself with a knife to its throat (see our next issue).

General Trends and Recent Developments

After being presented by the IMF somewhat hastily in April 1990 as one of sub-Saharan Africa's model students, Senegal, whose program with the fund has been suspended since last August, is again experiencing a serious financial crisis. The recurrent nature of those crises, the absence of economic prospects, the context of general deflation, and the deterioration of the productive fabric are a source of deep concern and sometimes of discouragement for many Senegalese officials. After 10 years of an adjustment program with the IMF, the World Bank, and French aid, the results, concealed in part by the exceptional volume of foreign aid, now seem very disappointing both economically and financially.

Agriculture: Lack of Vision

Decline of Peanut Economy

The situation today is appalling, being marked by a decline in mechanization (the only real gain during the previous period) and therefore in labor productivity. The necessary institutional reform that began in 1984 and the elimination of most subsidies for inputs led to a sharp reduction in the (already very limited) use of fertilizers, an almost total elimination of the supplying of inputs on credit, a southward movement by the pioneering front that was so active between 1920 and 1960, and an acceleration of the rural exodus.

Despite exceptionally high prices for peanut oil and very favorable rainfall during the 1989 rainy season, the peanut industry, whose accumulated deficits between 1983-1984 and 1987-1988 totaled nearly 78 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs, was slightly out of balance in 1989-90.¹ The poor rainfall in the 1990 rainy season, combined with the continuation of excessive structural costs and the questionable conditions under which oil is marketed by Sonacos [National Oleaginous Product Marketing Company of Senegal], will lead to the same results in the 1990-91 season.

Technical Successes, Inconsistencies and Waste in Irrigated Agriculture

Regardless of how one views their profitability, completion of the large Diama and Manantali Dams is now facilitating the development of an area with strong potential along the Senegal River. But the zones of irrigated agriculture, which some people consider remarkable technical achievements and that absorb a sizable share of foreign aid, have spread without the conditions guaranteeing the profitability and permanence of those structures having been met. Although the results seem very satisfactory from the technical standpoint, with rice yields averaging more than 5 metric tons per hectare per season, the situation today is characterized by a number of inconsistencies leading to a blockage:

First, the system of administered prices (the producer price for paddy and the consumer price for rice) does not allow the economic agents to work independently of an equalization system. But that system is no longer functioning, its funds having been absorbed by the state's current cash requirements.²

Second, the lack of budget funds and the failure to allocate equalization funds are the cause of serious shortcomings in maintaining the systems.³ The current rules are aimed at transferring the cost of water service and system maintenance to the peasant groups. But those rules, while desirable at first glance, run up against two constraints: at the technical level, the water delivery systems were not designed to facilitate the transfer of responsibility for water management to the peasant groups; and at the economic level, transferring their cost is incompatible with the drop in the producer price of

paddy that would be needed to rebalance the ricegrowing industry in the absence of an equalization mechanism or a sharp increase in the consumer price of rice.

Last, the economic profitability of the infrastructure depends on the widespread practice of double-cropping, to which there are technical obstacles (the absence of short-cycle varieties and constraints as regards water resources) and socioeconomic obstacles (the low or non-existent profitability of the second cycle from the farmer's point of view).

In the current context, therefore, the very permanence of the existing infrastructure is in jeopardy. Regardless of the availability of foreign funds for investment, expanding the ricegrowing area would require either an increase in equalization funds, which is incompatible with the situation in public finance, or a significant increase in the retail price of rice, an option resolutely rejected by political leaders.

Stagnation in Cotton Production

While cotton made it possible to begin the modernization of agriculture in many parts of the Sahel (southern Mali and northern Ivory Coast) by facilitating the occupational organization of the peasant world, mechanization, and the intensification of production, Senegal has lagged behind in that area. Senegalese cotton production, which barely equals that of a CIDT [expansion not given] sector, obviously does not justify the existence in Dakar of an office and a complete management team. The competition from peanuts in the absence of a diversified price policy, combined with the cost and low efficiency of the intervention structure, means that cotton is not a mainspring of agriculture.

Disappointing Results of New Agricultural Policy

Overall, the NPA has made it possible to reduce the budget cost of Senegalese agriculture; its impact on public finance has certainly been beneficial, as has the transfer of responsibility to the farmers which it has promoted. On the other hand:

1. As far as growth is concerned, the production increases occurring particularly in 1989 were due exclusively to greater precipitation.
2. As far as productivity is concerned, the situation is one of decline rather than growth.
3. As regards relative incomes in the urban and rural areas, only the deterioration in urban incomes has made it possible to stabilize certain rural relative incomes or, in specific cases, improve them.
4. At the institutional level, state agencies are still the dominant institutions in the rural world, although responsible peasant organizations that are beginning to form federations are appearing in some regions.
5. The objective of self-sufficiency in food remains a completely empty slogan against the background of a

populist policy for importing broken rice at prices which depress the price of local cereals.

6. Attempts to support the price of secondary cereals have so far failed.

7. The conceptual capability of the Ministry of Rural Development and Water Resources seems very limited despite the abundance of foreign experts.

Behind those obstacles and that inefficiency, there is an undeniable lack of autonomous strategic vision, a rejection at the political level of any measure not favoring the urban population, and also, despite the facade of unity presented within the framework of PASA (Agricultural Sector Adjustment Program), much inconsistency in the advice, terms, and general philosophies of many money-lenders. In such a context, with or without PASA, there is little reason to expect a spectacular recovery.

Senegalese Industry: Errors and Waste

a) The sector comprising what can be regarded as "strategic" industries has benefited from most of the investment over the past 10 years (about 150 billion CFA francs out of a total of 200 billion). The effectiveness of those investments is doubtful, seeing that political considerations have constantly interfered with investment decisions. We note, for example, the establishment of Sotexka [expansion not given] (22 billion CFA francs), whose survival is very much in danger; the establishment of Sisac [expansion not given] and Cafec [expansion not given] (9 billion CFA francs), which have never gone into operation; investments of 19 billion CFA francs in Sococim [West African Cement Company] and of 10 billion CFA francs in Sonacos with no resulting creation of jobs; and, last, heavy investments in the ICS [Chemical Industries of Senegal] (77 billion CFA francs) and Dakar-Marine (5 billion), which at the moment are accumulating losses. In all those operations, the state as investor has played a decisive role—a role that explains, for the most part, the mistakes in strategy and the waste of funds.

The particularly touchy situation in two sectors needs to be emphasized here:

1. Most of the Senegalese textile industry seems to be in a disastrous state. The three largest firms have either closed their doors (the STS [expansion not given]) or are as good as doomed (Icotaf [African Cotton Industry] and Sotexka). The fourth big firm (Sotiba [expansion not given]), which had been experiencing a recovery, is again being choked off by the rapid rise in illegal imports.
2. The situation in the phosphate industry is also extremely worrying: the ICS has accumulated losses equalling its investment cost, and its survival is very uncertain. A possible shutdown by the ICS would have serious effects on activities downstream (the Autonomous Port of Dakar and the railroad) and upstream (the CSPT [expansion not given]).⁴ Last, the Taiba mines are entering a difficult period due to the declining value of

the dollar, the worsening of operating conditions, and the delay in implementing the investment program designed to ensure the continuation of mining.

b) The private competitive sector consists of firms in the formal sector with Senegalese, French, and/or Lebanese capital and management. Its growth has run into other types of constraints:

1. A narrow domestic market, following the breakup of the AOF [French West Africa], as a result of the country's low incomes and the stagnation in agriculture.

2. The burden of regulatory constraints imposed by labor legislation: those constraints are reinforced by the presence of a trade union (the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers]), which is linked to the governing Socialist Party and whose influence is being eroded by very assertive autonomous unions with unrealistic demands. Those constraints are having a negative impact on labor productivity and constitute a considerable handicap overall, especially for export firms. It must be noted, however, that those constraints on productivity operate in extremely different ways depending on the firm in question, the determining factors being union activism and the quality of management. Moreover, under pressure from the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), labor legislation has undergone considerable revision over the past year. And last, a reform of the Labor Code has just been completed at the technical level, although the decision to submit it to the National Assembly has not yet been made.

Input Costs

Senegal is not an exceptional case: the cost of inputs is exceptionally high there as it is in all the countries belonging to the franc zone.

One important element is the excessive cost of energy due to taxes on petroleum products supplied by a refinery which, moreover, operates below capacity. The difficult situation in public finance, the specific quantitative goals set by the IMF in connection with petroleum taxes, and the recent rise in petroleum prices have made it impossible to move ahead, as expected in August 1990, with plans to reduce taxes and prices. This, incidentally, is one of the areas where the recommendations by the IBRD and the IMF contradict each other.

Under those conditions, the prospects for reducing factor cost seem all the more uncertain in that the narrowness of the market makes it impossible to benefit from economies of scale. A comparison of the cost structure at Sococim with that at a French cement plant shows, for example, that for one metric ton of cement, the fuel cost for the Senegalese cement plant is four and a half times higher than the French cost, the cost of electricity is five times higher, and personnel costs are 1.4 times higher.

Annoying Character of Bureaucratic Guerrilla Warfare

Besides the objective factors constituted by market constraints, labor legislation, and factor cost, the administrative and tax annoyances due to a nitpicking or tendentious interpretation of regulations by junior officials contribute to the irritation or discouragement of company heads and especially French officials. The concern on the part of some government employees to make money from their ability to stop causing trouble is at the root of many of those annoyances, which sometimes take on the classic look of "tax terrorism."⁵ Those problems are irritating because they take up the time of managers, who, to solve them, must either pay up or personally take the case to the ministry for arbitration. And the "tax imperative" has been growing increasingly urgent over the past three years, a lot of persuasion being required to get the administration to grant facilities, payment terms, or favorable interpretations of the law. In that context, the need for preferential treatment and "arrangements" is growing increasingly unavoidable and is helping to create a very unhealthy atmosphere.

Reduced protection and the liberalization of prices and marketing channels without the accompanying incentive measures that were announced have led to a drop in exports, a rise in imports, larger inventories of finished goods, the rapid growth of import fraud, and the closing of many firms.

About 25 good-sized firms, including Bata (450 employees), African Warehousing, the Dakar Wireworks, Icotaf-Dakar, Icotaf-Rufisque, and Senac [expansion not given], have closed since 1987-88. The number of firms with a turnover exceeding 100 million CFA francs is said to have dropped from 141 to 119 between 1985 and 1988. Professor Judet estimated in July 1989 that 5,000 jobs had been lost in two years' time, and that trend toward deterioration is continuing.

It seems that in view of the above-mentioned constraints, the Senegalese import substitution industry will not be able to survive except with strong protection and that a reduction in the rate of protection will require a prior loosening of the constraints.

The overall result of the NPI is appalling today and a matter of the greatest concern to Senegalese authorities. They are now endeavoring to improve their dialogue with the employers and to find quick solutions (a freeze on tax debts and so on) in order to prevent bankruptcies; they are also trying (belatedly, it is true) to implement the measures for support and encouragement which constituted the "forgotten" part of the NPI.

However, the drop in tax revenues resulting from the lower customs duties introduced by the NPI induced the IMF to advocate higher tariffs (which took effect at the end of August 1989) and recommend that more items be made subject to the TVA [value-added tax]. The lack of consistency in those measures (lowered protection, failure to implement the accompanying measures, the adoption of certain accompanying measures, increased

protection, the introduction and then suspension of export premiums, and so on) is denounced by employers and businessmen.

Failure of NPI Poses Triple Problem

The failure of the NPI is not irreparable. On the contrary, that failure may result in a wholesome new awareness. But the current crisis in confidence requires that Senegalese political leaders take action now to solve three problems:

1. The problem of consistency in government policy.
2. The problem of dialogue with the employers.
3. The problem of improving the moral standards of economic life.

a) To a large extent, the failure of the NPI is linked to a lack of consistency in government policy. When the NPI was launched, the Ministry of Economy and Finance, which is the IBRD's main talking partner, adopted only those parts of the IBRD's recommended industrial policy that affected taxes and customs duties. The Ministry of Industry was unable to secure implementation in sufficient time of the accompanying measures that might have provided the program with some consistency. The administration's tax practices have never been consistent with the NPI's proclaimed objectives. Lastly, the authorities have also not shown the desirable firmness in their political language regarding the unions. And what the launching of such a policy requires, in addition to the technical effectiveness of the measures adopted (an area in which the NPI left a great deal to be desired), is singleness of language and great consistency in the signals sent to businessmen. This new policy was imposed by the IBRD in great haste. And since it was not really accepted by either the political power, the government bureaucracy, or public opinion, the delicate symphony imagined by the IBRD's experts was played off key.

b) The most surprising thing about this operation is that it was thought up by experts from the World Bank and the Senegalese Ministry of Finance, with each side being more ignorant than the other on the subject of realities in the local firms. The diagnostic study, which should have formed the basis for this new policy, was in fact carried out after—not before (!)—the policy was introduced. The result was that a number of macroeconomic considerations led to an industrial policy that had not been negotiated or even discussed with the employers. Dialogue with the employers did not really begin until November 1989, when a "register of grievances" was submitted to the president of the republic. That dialogue does effectively exist at present.

c) The elimination of quotas and the liberalization of imports led to a rapid rise in major import fraud. While smuggling, especially with Gambia, is an old tradition in Senegal, the NPI has in fact led to an accelerated growth

in imports for the benefit of the informal commercial sector and to the detriment of industry and local structured trade.

Senegal is now rapidly catching up with countries such as Ivory Coast, which are tending to become big rummage shops.⁶ In Dakar, the most varied products can now be supplied at absolutely unbeatable prices.

In that context, the increase in customs duties that was imposed by the IMF in August 1989 (following the reduction in duties imposed by the IBRD in 1986!) can only encourage fraud. Besides the inconsistency of such zigzagging measures as denounced by Senegalese employers, the NPI seems, in the words of Professor Judet, to have "opened up a period of general laxity," which suits certain local private interests perfectly. A restoration of tax and customs discipline will now be very difficult to implement politically because of the importance of those interests, particularly religious, which are involved in fraud.

Footnotes

1. A deficit of 1.9 billion CFA francs due partly to the rise in financial costs (elimination of the preferential discount rate). But Sonacos has profited from the surge in the price of crude peanut oil on the world market, since its average export sales prices increased by 43 percent in 1989 and by another 15 percent in 1990.

2. From 1980 to 1987, the Equalization Fund collected a total of about 29 billion CFA francs for equalization purposes. It collected another 13.7 billion for 1990 alone. But it is still not making any payments whatever to the SAED [Company for the Development and Utilization of the Senegal River Delta].

3. The standard cost of maintaining the systems for which the SAED is responsible can be estimated at about 2.4 billion CFA francs per year. The maintenance work actually done by the SAED, excluding rehabilitation work financed by foreign aid, amounts to practically nothing.

4. The ICS accounts for 11 percent of the port traffic and 20 percent of the railroad traffic. It absorbs 24 percent of the CSPT's production.

5. This is the case with Carnaud Senegal, which in 1989 was assessed 2.7 billion CFA francs in back taxes (on a turnover of 4 billion and no profits).

6. Calls for bids to supply computer systems to state enterprises did local dealers no good, since the equipment was imported free of customs duties and delivered at prices lower than the cost to those dealers.

*** Reformers Said Upset Over Wade Appointment**

91AF1128C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
19-25 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by Mamadou Sy: "Those Excluded by the Change"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] General Abdoulaye Wade has broken ranks without informing his soldiers. Result: many of them have lost their bearings. There is a mixture of bitterness and despair. An entire generation is being swallowed up in nearly total confusion.

Sopi. That word once bothered more than one member of the government and the Socialist Party. That was two years ago. At the time, those four letters spelled the end of a entire era in Senegal's political history. All one had to do was pronounce them or wave them about to "cause panic among the Socialists but also and especially to identify oneself with a vast social current in favor of change," says one student. These past few years have seen a vast movement comprising sizable segments of the population including students, pupils, young people in general, merchants, and a significant portion of the political opposition.

Unlike the days when independence was being achieved or the period after May 1968, the 1980's brought to the fore a special generation that broke with all ideology and every mass plan for society. That generation intends to be specific and realistic in its own way: "We have demonstrated to solve our daily social and family problems," says a group of students living at Dakar University. That attitude matches the one we have found among merchants and the unemployed and especially among young residents of Dakar's working class neighborhoods. For all those young people, Sopi represented a phenomenon: that of social change and the last hope. People still care about it in Grand-Dakar, at Dakar University and in certain circles in Dakar and its suburbs.

Misunderstandings

Sopi wanted first of all to sanction "the end of the chaotic management and political practice symbolized by the politico-bureaucratic bourgeoisie," thunders one teacher at the Blaise Diagne Lycee. The rallies, round tables, marches, and violence of the past two years have propelled all those enamored of social justice onto center stage. "We fought for months for social justice, democracy, and transparency," says one resident of Fass. And we, retorts a young merchant from Sandaga, "we closed our shops every time Gen. Wade returned to this country so we could hear his prophetic word and consider change without the Socialists and their accomplices."

Everywhere, Sopi corresponded to the need for change here and now. From the elections of 1988 until the opposition's participation in the current government, a good many young people "wanted to rebuild Senegal on the basis of new policies." In their view, revision of the Election Code and free and democratic elections would

have to "mean the departure of the president of the republic, the Socialists, and all those who intended to ensure the survival of neocolonialist practice," adds one student.

Was it a mistake? Every time Wade went abroad again, the rallies stopped. Several militants "foolishly associated Wade with the national political struggle and even its leadership," admits a leftist militant. Many of them smile when you mention laying "the groundwork." Result: the new developments took more than one person by surprise. Students, pupils, unemployed individuals, and merchants in Sandaga—they are all wondering what it means. There was a time when the rallies in Grand-Dakar and Colobane "constituted public occasions for denouncing the situation, doing battle with the president, and inveighing against the hidden practices of the Socialists." The podium has been taken down, but "the same evils still exist."

The step taken by Sopi's general and his captains "disgusts the soldiers who have been involved from the start," according to a "former" Sopi militant. "Personally, I was right there taking part in all the demonstrations," he adds. Several times he was the laughingstock of his neighborhood. Like many young people in Grand-Dakar, Fass, and the working class neighborhoods, "he thought that Sopi was going to get rid of the Socialists, the French, and everything that was not Senegalese."

The turnaround by Sopi is on everyone's lips. Surprise is combined with confusion. "I will even say that it means despair for us," says one PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] militant. According to him, PDS authorities did not express an opinion on the new course of action, at least during the actual negotiations. "It was not until afterward that our authorities supported the consensus. There were no democratic debates and no serious and frank exchanges of views."

One student, a prophet after the fact, said with annoyance, "We are not surprised by that practice on the part of those who simply wanted to help strengthen bourgeois democracy." There lies a whole history of misunderstandings. Considering the differing opinions represented, it seems that the Sopi group constitutes a mixture of unbelievable misunderstandings. To individuals ranging from rank-and-file democrats, fired police officers, and young people thirsting for change to desperate unemployed people, the secretary general of the PDS represented the only alternative to Diouf's regime. Everyone added his own passions and ambitions. One businessman says, "That was no doubt part of his stock-in-trade as far as his credibility was concerned."

For those disappointed with Sopi, the future looks problematical. Like the former militants of 1989, they now espouse the idea that "all the main players in politics wind up selling out their voters." Their general has joined the list of all those "who have betrayed the people's struggle since independence."

They are burning with the passion and fanaticism they once expended on love. But some are hanging on to a fragment of hope and still believe in Sopi's master. Young democrats emphasize: "Abdoulaye is capable of anything. While he has agreed to play the current game, we think he must be aware of the stakes and the political risks." Some of Sopi's supporters feel that "the PDS is handling itself properly. The secretary general of the PDS is becoming the equivalent of Jean Collin. After Diouf, there will be Abdoulaye Wade.

Sierra Leone

Party Leader Denies Movement 'Ethnically Biased'

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1705 GMT 19 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The debate in Sierra Leone on a new multiparty Constitution has been hotting up with many complaints—among them that it gives too much power to the future president. And meanwhile, various political groupings have been emerging. Some have been accused of being ethnically or tribally based. Well one new group is the National Unity Movement [NUM]. Its chairman is former Cabinet minister Desmond Luke. On the line, Josephine Hazeley asked Desmond Luke if his movement wasn't, perhaps, ethnically biased towards the Creole people.

[Begin recording] [Luke] No. If one even looks at the name, the National Unity Movement, this has nothing whatsoever to do with ethnic grouping and, in fact, in my opinion, the two most terrible things that have been responsible for the mess in which Sierra Leone finds itself today are tribalism or ethnicity and corruption. Consequently, I would not have anything to do with any movement which was based on tribal lines.

[Hazeley] And the NUM, what is its stand? Is it an opposition party in the waiting for when multiparty is legal?

[Luke] No it is not an opposition party in the waiting. It is a movement designed to create political, economic, even moral consciousness among the people of Sierra Leone. It is designed to educate the people of Sierra Leone. So even if multiparty does not come tomorrow, the NUM will still continue to do what it has set out to do in its aims and objectives.

[Hazeley] Moral consciousness, I mean, what is that all about?

[Luke] Well in the decade or two decades we have just been through in Sierra Leone, a philosophy of that-side-wey-them-tie-cow-na-dey-i-go-eat-grass [pidgin for "a cow feeds on the grass at the spot where it is tethered"] and dog-eat-dog world was the order of the day. This, in my opinion, this, I would humbly suggest, is nothing more than a philosophy and invitation to theft,

and this has permeated the entire society and consequently one has to eradicate, one has to start from even that moral degradation if one is going to resurrect Sierra Leone to anything above the situation in which it is today.

[Hazeley] This is a big task you are taking on. Who are your members? Who will help you to resurrect, as you say, Sierra Leone to moral consciousness?

[Luke] We have an abundance, a superabundance of able people from all walks of life to assist in this task. The members of the NUM are from professional people, they are unemployed people, they are trade unionists, they are civil servants, they are the entire cross section of the people of Sierra Leone. The people of Sierra Leone are sick and tired of the foolishness that has gone on, but because they were unable to protest, because they were unable to do anything under the monolithic one-party system, the silent majority suffered in silence. But I can assure you that even those who have already come forward to put their hands to the wheel to try to put a halt to the decline of Sierra Leone and to turn it around have shown themselves not only able but very capable.

[Hazeley] The trouble, Mr. Desmond Luke, is that people come out, sound all righteous like you are doing now, but once a movement like yours gets on the way, I mean, it is all back to square one. It is all corruption and bribery all over again. What guarantee can you possibly give in this (?stern age) of not reverting to corruption and nepotism, etc?

[Luke] You can never give any such guarantee, and you will never eradicate corruption. You will always have corruption. You have corruption in Britain, your adopted country, even though I believe you come from Sierra Leone, which you should know. You will never eradicate corruption in Sierra Leone or anywhere else. You have corruption in America, but of course if people indulge in corrupt practices, they should expect to pay the consequences. They should expect to not only suffer disgrace but to be prosecuted for their corruption, and that has not happened in Sierra Leone. And one of the aims and objectives of NUM is the rule of law whereby people who break the law are not only prosecuted but suffer the consequences of their misdeeds.

[Hazeley] Mr. Luke, are you thinking of reentering politics?

[Luke] Definitely yes. As I told you I am still a politician. Everybody who has an interest in his country must be a politician.

[Hazeley] And so you will be contesting the presidential elections when they happen?

[Luke] If my movement wishes me to do so as their presidential candidate, I will do so, but it is not for me to decide that. [end recording]

Paper Reports 'Hundreds Dead' in Rebel Battle

AB2306141491 Lagos *Voice of Nigeria in English*
1030 GMT 23 Jun 91

[From the press review]

[Text] The NEW NIGERIAN reports that the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] force made up of Guinean, Sierra Leonean, and Nigerian troops has captured one of the main bases of the Liberian

rebels who have crossed the border into Sierra Leone. The paper says the six-hour battle, which left hundreds dead and wounded, had taken place in the southern town of (?Pujehun), which lies in one of Sierra Leone's main food-producing regions.

The NEW NIGERIAN reports that the Government of Sierra Leone has accused the rebels of the Charles Taylor group in Liberia of crossing over the country's eastern border and attacking local towns since March 23.

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